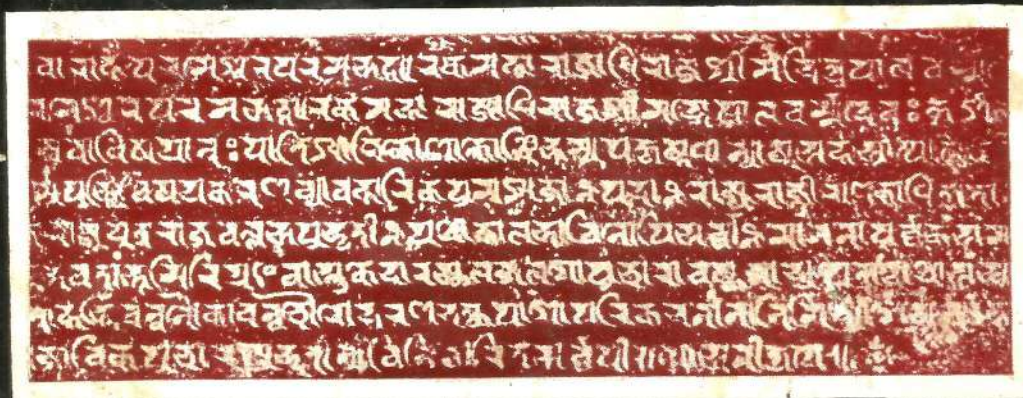


INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT ASSAM

MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA



INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT ASSAM



“ Ethnically the people of Assam form a mixed race, and cultural and physiological features linking them with Southeast Asia, Tibet and China are still obvious ; but the upper classes of the Brahmaputra Valley, the region in ancient days known as Kamarupa, have adopted Sanskritic culture since early in the Christian era, at the latest, and their kings have left numerous important inscriptions, many of them in beautiful verse, and all of them important for the light they throw on the history and culture of the times.

By bringing together these inscriptions in a single volume, and providing a full analysis, notes and accurate translations for each of them, Professor Sharma has produced an invaluable source book for the serious student of Assamese history. a book which, incidentally, may be read with interest and pleasure even by those who cannot follow the Sanskrit originals. Himself primarily a Sanskritist, who has devoted much of his life to the study of *kavya*, his translations are marked by scholarly accuracy and understanding. His introduction shows, however, that he has also a very sound understanding of historical method, and this book is much more than a mere collection of sources, but a positive contribution to the historiography of the State of Assam. . . .”

INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT ASSAM

By

MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit
Gauhati University



1978

Department of Publication

GAUHATI UNIVERSITY

ASSAM • INDIA

Inscriptions of Ancient Assam; an anthology of the inscriptions of ancient Assam, edited with notes and translations by M. M. SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Cal.), KAVYATIRTHA, Professor & Head of the Deptt. of Sanskrit, Gauhati University; Published by The Registrar, Gauhati University, in the Department of Publication, 1978.

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Dedicated to the sacred memory of
The Late Professor Dr. SATKARI MOOKERJEE
and
The Late Professor Dr. KANTI CHANDRA PANDEY

FOREWORD

I am pleased and honoured to be given the privilege of introducing Professor M. M. Sharma's addition of the Pre-Ahom inscriptions of Assam.

In the study of the earlier history of any civilized region of the earth's surface inscriptions form an important class of sources which cannot be ignored if we want our picture of the past to be as complete and reliable as possible. This has been shown over the past century even in the study of the history of Greece and Rome. For the study of Indian history from the Mauryan period down to the coming of the Muslims, however, inscriptions probably play a more important part in the elucidation of the past than for any other region of the world, for here they form the major source of our knowledge, as far as dynastic history is concerned. This was recognized almost as soon as Indian studies began, and some of the earliest numbers of *Asiatic Researches* contain editions of historical inscriptions.

To study the great body of early Indian historical inscriptions one needs access to a good Indological library, containing not only the full set of *Epigraphia Indica*, but also sets of several other important journals. It might be noted that, when I moved the centre of my activities to Australia in 1965, there was then only one complete run of *Epigraphia Indica* in the whole of Australia, in Melbourne. Thanks to modern methods of book reproduction this situation has now, I am glad to say, much improved, but it underlines the difficulties faced by the serious student of early Indian history in many parts of the world.

Even when he has access to a library containing all his requirements, the student of inscriptions still has a tedious task ahead of him, in bringing together his sources from perhaps as many as six series of periodicals, for much important material is to be found outside the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*. For this reason it is most desirable that the more important inscriptions should be republished in easily accessible form, on a dynastic or regional basis.

Ethnically the people of Assam form a mixed race, and cultural and physiological features linking them with Southeast Asia, Tibet and China are still obvious; but the upper classes of the Brahmaputra Valley, the region in ancient days known as Kāmarūpa, have adopted Sanskrit culture since early in the Christian era, at the latest, and their kings have left numerous important inscriptions, many of them in beautiful verse, and all of them important for the light they throw on the history and culture of the times.

By bringing together these inscriptions in a single volume, and providing a full analysis, notes and accurate translations for each of them, Professor Sharma has produced an invaluable source book for the serious student of Assamese history, a book which, incidentally, may be read with interest and pleasure even by those who cannot follow the Sanskrit originals. Himself primarily a Sanskritist, who has devoted much of his life to the study of *kāvya*, his translations are marked by scholarly accuracy and understanding. His introduction shows, however, that he has also a very sound understanding of historical method, and this book is much more than a mere collection of sources, but a positive contribution to the historiography of the State of Assam. I commend it to all students of the subject and to all those who love the land and people of Kāmarūpa.

13 July, 1978

A. L. BASHAM

Professor and Head of the
Department of Asian Civilizations
Australian National University,
Canberra

PREFACE

The task of compiling the present anthology has been assigned to me under the scheme of collection and publication of source materials for the history of Assam, undertaken by the Department of History, Gauhati University, and sponsored by the University Grants Commission. The work has been completed as early as in May, 1973. But subsequently it has been deemed necessary to include some more materials and to alter the tone and texture of the work to a considerable extent, and that is how the present work may be recognised as the product of a study carried on in two phases. Initially, as a student of Sanskrit Kāvya literature I have been more preoccupied with the literary aspect of the inscriptions. But with the progress of the work it has been found desirable to put equal or more emphasis on the historical, palaeographic and orthographical aspects of the documents, and this should be evident from the varying degree of inclination to these aspects in the treatment of different inscriptions.

It has been my sincerest endeavour to present the most comprehensive and most perfect study of the inscriptions of the period concerned. But as the French adage goes "the best is the enemy of the good"; to wait for the production of the best would have meant, also in the present case, an undue delay even in the production of what is simply sufficiently useful. Hence, the present anthology is brought out with all humility without taking any more time for further improvement and expansion. This consideration has compelled me, for example, to remain satisfied with the presentation of only a part of the text of the Corāṭbari grant, the photolithograph of which has been received by me only in the month of October 1977.

As a holy preliminary ritual I put on record my deep sense of indebtedness to the earlier authorities Hultzsch, Hoernle, Kielhorn, Arthur Venis, A. K. Maitreya, MM H. P. Shastri, Krishna Shastri, N. K. Bhattasali, P. N. Bhattacharyya, N. N. Basu, R. M. Nath, D. C. Sircar, P. Banerjee, P. C. Choudhury, P. D. Chaudhury and K. K. Gupta, who have made important contributions to the study of the epigraphs of ancient Assam.

It is my pleasant duty to express most respectful gratitude to Professor Dr. H. K. Barpujari, the then Head of the Department of History and Dean, Faculty of Arts, Gauhati University for entrusting me with the present work. Thanks are due also to my highly esteemed colleague Dr. V. B. Misra, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Gauhati University for going through the work in its first phase and offering some important suggestions for its improvement, and to Shri Kamala Kanta Gupta, Advocate of Supanighat, Sylhet, Bangladesh, Principal Karunananda Dutta

of the L.O.K.D. College, Dhekiajuli, Professor Dr. S. S. Misra of the Lucknow University, Principal Dr. M. K. Saikia of the D. R. College, Golaghat, Shri Chidananda Barua, Settlement Officer, Darrang and Shri Kanak Chandra Sarma, Senior, A.S.O., Darrang, Tezpur for supplying some vital information and photographs, to Shri Ramadas Basu and Shri S. K. Chakravorty of Calcutta, Shri Bisweswar Hazarika of the B. Barooah College, Gauhati and Dr. R. D. Chaudhury of the Assam State Museum for supplying photolithographs etc. and to Shri M. C. Das of the Assam State Museum, Dr. J. Phukan and Shri B. Dey of the Department of History, Gauhati University and Shri S. Tunga of the Department of Bengali, Gauhati University for lending books. Thanks are specially due to my most beloved student Dr. D. Chutia of the Assam Sanskrit College and my wife Smti. Elima Sharma for their immense help rendered throughout the execution of the present project.

I remain extremely grateful to Professor Dr. A. L. Basham of the Department of Asian Civilizations, Australian National University, Canberra, for the kind Foreword and for all the encouragement I had the privilege to receive from him in my various academic endeavours.

I am highly thankful to the authorities of the University of Gauhati and particularly to Dr. K. C. Bhattacharyya, Registrar, for all the kind patronage offered to me for getting the book published in the present form.

I am genuinely thankful also to the authorities of the Nabajiban Press, Calcutta and Shri Keshav Mahanta, Publication Officer, Gauhati University for the patience and care with which they have carried on the work of printing and publishing the book for the last few years.

32, Gauhati University
Gauhati-781014 (India)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Amara	=	<i>Amarakośa</i>
Apte	=	V. S. Apte's <i>Students' Sanskrit English Dictionary</i>
B.S.	=	Bengali Sāl
CHA	=	<i>A Cultural History of Assam</i> by B. K. Barua (2nd edn)
CII	=	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
Corpus	=	<i>Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions</i> by Maity and Mukherjee
DHAS	=	Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Gauhati
EHK	=	<i>Early History of Kāmarūpa</i> by K. L. Barua (2nd edn)
Ep. Indica	=	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
Glossary	=	<i>Indian Epigraphical Glossary</i> by D. C. Sircar
HC	=	<i>Harṣacarita</i>
HCPA	=	<i>History of the Civilization of the People of Assam</i> by P. C. Choudhury (2nd edn)
HLI	=	<i>Historical and Literary Inscriptions</i> by Raj Bali Pandey
IHQ	=	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
Ind. Ant.	=	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
JARS	=	<i>Journal of the Assam Research Society</i>
JASB	=	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JASB (NS)	=	-do- (New series)
JBORS	=	<i>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i>
JUG	=	<i>Journal of the University of Gauhati</i>
KP	=	<i>Kālikāpurāṇa</i>
KP. Chow	=	-do- (Chowkhamba edn)
KŚ	=	<i>Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī</i> of P. N. Bhattacharyya
Pargiter	=	Trans. of the <i>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i> by Pargiter
Śāsanāvalī	=	<i>Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī</i> of P. N. Bhattacharyya
VII	=	<i>Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal</i>
Watters	=	T. Watter's <i>On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India</i>
YT	=	<i>Yoginī Tantra</i>

INTRODUCTION

Ancient inscriptions of any region contain the most reliable source materials for its history. This is more glaringly noticed in the case of the history of ancient Assam and should emerge out in bolder relief from a study of the relative reliability and magnitude of the other varieties of source materials. For the convenience of entering into such a comparative assessment a brief survey of the source materials concerning the ancient period of the history of Assam is presented below. It will be seen that the other source materials are not adequate, and in most cases the references found therein are scanty and confusing, and sometimes they even present conflicting evidences. In certain other cases what has hitherto been recognised as a source may be shown to have no bearing at all on the history of ancient Assam.

The Agni-Videgha Māthava episode : To take up the last contention first, let us examine the case of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (iv. 1) where the Agni-Videgha-Māthava episode is supposed to indicate an early Aryanisation of Assam. The story in brief is that King Videgha Māthava of the region of the river Sarasvatī has been holding Agnī (Fire) in his mouth. Once as he uttered the *mantra* 'tanvā ghṛtasravīmahe' etc., Agni jumped down and started moving eastwards, dried up and burnt all the rivers on his way, but left the river Sadānīrā untouched. Being untouched by Agni the river came to be supposed to be impure and no brahmin of the yore ever crossed it from the west. Subsequently, however, brahmins proceeded even to the east of the river and sanctified the land lying to the east also with the performance of sacrifices. King Videgha Māthava, who with his priest Gotama Raghūgaṇa followed Agni upto the said river, has been instructed by Agni to settle down to the east of the river. Since then the land to the east of Sadānīrā came to be known as Videha and the same land also used to be called Māthava. The text further says that the river Sadānīrā stands as the boundary between Kośala and Videha. (*saiṣapyetarhi kośala-videhānām maryādā*, iv. 1.17).

Sayayaṇa, while commenting on the relevant text of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, quotes the lexicon (*nighaṇṭuḥ*) to identify the river Sadānīrā as Karatoyā¹. A river Karatoyā is also given by such old texts as the *Kālikā-*

¹ "tathā ca nighaṇṭuḥ karatoyā sadānīrā bahudā śaitavāhinī iti." This is in fact a quotation from the *Amarakoṣa*.

purāṇa and the *Yoginītantra* as the western boundary of *Kāmarūpa*.² Hence, the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* with the present episode is supposed to have hinted at the spread of the Aryan culture to *Kāmarūpa* lying to the east of *Karatoyā* even before the Buddhistic period.³ But as it appears to us, the present passage can hardly be supposed to contain any suggestion regarding Aryani- sation of *Kāmarūpa*, because the river *Sadānīrā* is given by the text itself, in the passage quoted earlier, to be the boundary between *Kośala* and *Videha*, so as to justify its identification with modern *Gandak*⁴ and not with *Karatoyā*, the traditional western boundary of *Kāmarūpa*. Eggeling also says :

- - - river *Sadānīrā*, which according to *Sāyaṇa*, is another name for the *Karatoyā* (the mod. *Kuratee*, on which *Bograh* lies), which formed the eastern boundary of the *Videhas* ; or more probably the *Gaṇḍakī* the mod. *Gunduck*, a noble river which falls into the *Ganges* opposite *Patna*, and) which formed the boundary between the *Kosalas* and the *Vdehas*. It would appear from our legend, that, for some time the *Aryans* did not venture to cross the river ; but at the time of the author the country to the east of it had long been occupied by them.⁵

We could perhaps take the river *Sadānīrā* as the common eastern boundary of both *Kośala* and *Videha*, so as to make it the western boundary of *Kamarūpa*. But *Sāyaṇa* himself clearly states that the land lying to the east of *Sadānīrā* in which *Videgha Māthava* settled at the instance of *Agni* came to be known as *Māthava* and that is identical with the *Videhadeśa*. cf. *hi yasmād evaṃ māthavāya agniradāt tasmātte videhadeśā api māthavā ityucyante*. Thus *Sadānīrā* was actually the western boundary of *Videha* and the present legend has nothing to do with the state of affairs in ancient *Assam*.

On the word *pragjyotiṣa* of the *Sāmkhyāyana Grhyasamgraha* :
Another instance where a text is wrongly supposed to refer to the land of *Kāmarūpa* is provided by a passage of the *Sāmkhyāyana Grhyasamgraha*."

² *bahurokā nāma nadī karatoyā pradakṣiṇe
uttaraśrāvaṇī cāste tat pūrvam kāmarūpakam. (KP. Chow. 78.7)
nepālasya kāñcanādrīm brahmaputrasya saṅgamam
karatoyām samārabhya yāvad dikkaravāsiniṃ
uttarasyām kañjagiriḥ karatoyā tu paścime
tīrthaśreṣṭhā dikṣunadī pūrvasyām girikanyake
dakṣiṇe brahmaputrasya lākṣyāḥ saṅgamāvadhi
kāmarūpa iti khyātaḥ sarvaśāstreṣu niścītaḥ. (YT. xi. 16-18).*

³ *Dikshitar*, 'Aryanisation of East India (Assam)', *IHQ*, xxi, (1945), pp. 29-33. ; *HCPA*, p.9. See also *Weber*, *Indian Studies*, I, pp. 170 f.

⁴ *Basham*, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 40.

⁵ *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (SBE Series) reprinted by *Motilal Banarsidass*, 2nd edn. 1966, Introduction, p. 104 n.

⁶ By *Pandit Vāsudeva*, ed by *Somnath Upadhyaya*, *Benares Sanskrit Series* (1908).

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karatoyāṃ samārabhya yāvad dikkaravāsinīm
uttarasyāṃ kañjagiriḥ karatoyā tu paścime
tīrthaśreṣṭhā dīkṣunadī pūrvasyāṃ girikanyake
dakṣiṇe brahmaputrasya lākṣyāḥ saṅgamāvadhi
kāmarūpa iti khyātaḥ sarvaśāstreṣu niścitaḥ. (YT. xi. 16-18).*

³ Dikshitar, 'Aryanisation of East India (Assam)', *IHQ*, xxi, (1945), pp. 29-33.; *HCPA*, p.9. See also Weber, *Indian Studies*, I, pp. 170 f.

⁴ Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 40.

⁵ *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (SBE Series) reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, 2nd edn. 1966, Introduction, p. 104 n.

⁶ By Pandit Vāsudeva, ed by Somnath Upadhyaya, Benares Sanskrit Series (1908).

The passage in question describes the rituals to be performed in connection with the Śākkaravrata. As enjoined therein the performer (i.e., the student) accompanied by the preceptor should first set out in the dusk towards the northern direction. After seeing some inauspicious and ugly objects in that direction they should return to their abode. cf. *tataḥ saṁvatsare pūrṇe . . . prabhātavelāyām prāgudicīm diśam gaccataḥ . āmamaṁsam caṇḍālām . . . sarvāṇi ca mṛtakarūpāṇi eteṣām anyatamaṁ dṛṣṭvā nivartate* (p. 37). What follows these lines contains the word *prāgjyotiṣam* and leads some scholars to believe that the performer 'should visit the sacred country of Prāgjyotiṣa before sunrise.'⁷ cf. *tato niṣkramya prāgjyotiṣam puṇyadeśam upagamyā anudita ādītye añjanagandhisurabhim ityanena mantreṇa udakadhārayā pradakṣiṇām pūrvadvāram maṇḍalam kṛtvā . . . kuśān dūrvām ca kṣipati. tataḥ "añjanagandham" ityanena mantreṇa śiṣyācāryau praviśataḥ* (p. 38). A little attention should show that this passage has nothing to do with the country of Prāgjyotiṣa. The word *prāgjyotiṣam* means 'before the appearance of any light' and the passage enjoins that the performer (student) and the preceptor should once again set out to some holy area before the appearance of any light and should perform the further rituals like circumambulation before the sun-rise. It may be noticed that in the earlier mission to the northern side they would see unholy things while in the latter mission they would visit a holy place. This holy place should be close by so as to allow the performers to come back soon and reenter the abode (*praviśataḥ*) after the performance of a few short and simple rituals. Thus it is absurd to find any reference to the country of Kāmarūpa at all in the *Sāṁkhyāyana Gṛhyasaṁgraha*.⁷

A survey of the source-materials : The passage—"prācyām vai diśi devāḥ somaṁ rājānam akrīṇan. tasmāt prācyām diśi diśi krīyate" of the *Aaitareya Brāhmaṇa* (1.3.7) is supposed to indicate an early Aryan settlement in ancient Assam. The passage is supposed to provide this information that 'by barter and by purchase', the brahmins, who had already settled in the soil of Assam, managed to get Soma for sacrifices from the tribes who lived in the hilly tracts of Kāmarūpa.⁸ But here the reference is very vague.

No definite reference is made to Kāmarūpā or Prāgjyotiṣa in the early

⁷ J. C. Ghosh, *JARS*, v. 4, p. 116. In the light of this passage P. C. Choudhury opines that 'Prāgjyotiṣa finds mention in the *Sām Gr* as the land of sunrise.' (*HCPA*, p. 9).

⁷ There is no mention of the land of Kāmarūpa at all in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* also. Hence the idea that 'the origin of the name Kāmarūpa goes back to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*' (*HCPA*, pp. 9, 35, 102, 115) seems to be based on some wrong notion.

⁸ Dikshitar, *IHQ*, XXI, (1945), p. 33.

Buddhist canonical literature. The *Dīghanikāya*⁹ and the *Samyuttanikāya*¹⁰, however, contain the episode of a Lohicco Brāhmaṇo. If the word *lohicco* (=Skt. *lauhitya*) means the region of the river Brahmaputra then in these scriptures there is an evidence of an early prevalence of the brahminical culture in ancient Assam.¹¹

In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also we are required to understand Kāmarūpa from a reference to Lauhitya. The words Kāmarūpa and Prāgyotiṣa are nowhere mentioned in the said ancient work. But in connection with the 'examination of gems that are to be entered into the treasure'.¹² Kauṭilya speaks of various products of various countries and tracts of lands of which, according to the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin, certain tracts belong to Kāmarūpa. The terms Taurūpa, Joṅgaka, Pārasamudraka, Grāmeruka, Sauvarṇakudya, Pūrṇadvīpaka, Pāralauhityaka and Antaravatyā are said in the commentary to be associated with Kāmarūpa. Antaravatyā is said to be a 'product on the bank of the river Antaravati in Kāmarūpa'.¹³ In the *Śrīmūla* Commentary, Pt. Gaṇapati Sastri also explains the term Pāralauhityaka as "*pāralauhityakam kāmārūpe lauhityākhyā-nada-pārabhavam*".¹⁴ K. L. Barua quite convincingly tries to identify Suvarṇakudya as the village Soṅkudihā situated in the modern district of Kāmarūpa.¹⁵

In the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa (ch. 42) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is a reference to the city of Prāgyotiṣa and to Naraka. Sugrīva asks Suṣeṇa to set out in a mission to the west in search of Sītā. While describing the various places to be visited by Suṣeṇa and his party Sugrīva also describes the city of Prāgyotiṣa situated on the Varāha mountain, surrounded by the deep sea (*agādhe varuṇālaye*) and inhabited by Naraka. The location of Prāg-

⁹ In the दीघनिकायपालि (*Dīghanikāya*, vol. I, Pali Publication Board, Bihar Government, 1958, pp. 191-98) we have the लोहिचसुत्तं with the sub-sections—1. लोहिचस्स पापकं दिट्ठिगतं, 2. भगवा लोहिचस्स दिट्ठिं भिन्दि, 3. तयो चोदनारहा सत्थारो, and 4. न चोदनारहो सत्था.

¹⁰ In the संयुत्तनिकायपालि one लोहिचो ब्राह्मणो having a number of students (अन्तेवासिका) is referred to in a legend called लोहिचसुत्त (i.e., सुत्त No. 132 of the सलायतनसंयुत्तं of the सलायतनवग्गो of the संयुत्तनिकायपालि vide pp. 107-111, *Samyuttanikāya*, vol. III, Pali Publication Board, Bihar Govt. 1959).

¹¹ This reference to ancient Assam is also not a decisive one in so far as the *Bṛhatsamhitā* names Lauhitya and Prāgyotiṣa as two different but contiguous countries. See *infra*.

¹² *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 11, R. Shamasastri, tr. 3rd edn. 1929, pp. 75 ff.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 80, n. 8.

¹⁴ Quoted by N. N. Das Gupta in 'Kāmarūpa and the Kauṭilya', *JARS*, VII. 1, p. 27.

¹⁵ *JARS*, VII. 1, p. 29.

jyotiṣa in the west and in the deep sea shows that the reference is totally vague and misleading, though it is maintained¹⁶ that Naraka's association with the Varāha mountain appears to be at the root of the story that Naraka was born from the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu.

• P. N. Bhattacarya quotes the following verse from a Bengali manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

*tathāmūrttarayā dhīraścakre prāgyotiṣaṁ puram
dharmāranyasamīpasya vasuścakre girivrajam* (Ādi ch. 36)¹⁷

It is further informed that at p. 32 of the *Gauḍer Itihās*, compiled by Rajani Kanta Chakravarti, the name of the founder of the city of Prāgyotiṣa is given as Amūrtarajā and not as Amūrtarayā, and the number of the ch. is given as 35. But in the printed Bangavāsī edition, quoted by P. N. Bhattacharya (at *Bhūmikā*, p. 2) and also in the Bombay edition with the *Tilaka commentary* there is no mention of Prāgyotiṣa and the founder Asūrtarajasa (and not Amūrtarajā nor Amūrtarayā) is credited with the establishment of a Dharmāranya and not Prāgyotiṣa. Thus the reference found in the said manuscript is of very little worth in the context of source materials.

Of the two great epics the *Mahābhārata* seems to be more closely and more dependably familiar with the situation, surroundings and inhabitants of ancient Assam. It refers to the Naraka legend in a rather confusing manner, but while referring to Bhagadatta and his sons the epic seems to have more historical worth.

The Naraka episode in the Mahābhārata : In the Tīrthayātrā Parvan of the Vana Parvan (ch. 142) it is related that while the Pāṇḍavas were roaming about in the Gandhamādāna Parvata, they saw a white hill which has been explained by sage Lomaśa as a heap of the bones of a demon (*daitya*) named Naraka, who aspired for the position of Indra and performed *tapah* for ten thousand years. In response to a request by the gods he was finally killed by Viṣṇu. In this context nothing is said in the epic regarding Naraka's relation with Prāgyotiṣa and there is also nothing to warrant an identification of the aforesaid Naraka as the founder of the line of Bhauma kings in Kāmarūpa. It is, however, interesting to note that immediately after relating the above episode, sage Lomaśa presents an independent story about Viṣṇu's rescuing the Earth from the waters in the form of a boar. But in this context also nothing is mentioned about Naraka's relationship with Viṣṇu or Earth. What appears to be more likely is that the Naraka, described by Lomaśa was different from Naraka, the son of Earth, and only through association of ideas based on similarity of names, there occurred a reference also to the incident of the Earth's rescue.

¹⁶ B. M. Barua, *IHQ*. XXIII, pp. 200f; P. C. Choudhury, *HCPA*, p. 112.

¹⁷ *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, *Bhūmikā*, p. 1.

In the Udyoga Parvan (ch. 48, vv. 80-85) it is related that in a great citadel named Prāgjyotiṣa, there used to live the valorous Naraka, with the epithet Bhauma (i.e., the son of Bhūmi, Earth). Naraka stole away the bejewelled earrings of Aditi. All the gods including Indra were no match for him. Krishna earned great fame by killing the Bhauma Naraka along with Mura¹⁸ and by recovering the bejewelled ear-rings. Again in the same Parvan (ch. 130, vv. 44-45) it is related that Naraka lived for several yugas, resided in Prāgjyotiṣa, and even with the dānavas he could not withstand Krishna, who killed him in a battle and took away thousands of his damsels to marry. The facts that Naraka stole away the ear-rings, Krishna killed him at Prāgjyotiṣa and recovered the ear-rings and thousands of girls from his possession find place in the later Puranic and epigraphical literature again and again. But the *Mahābhārata* is silent about Naraka's birth from Viṣṇu. Only this much we find in the Droṇa Parvan (ch. 28, vv. 30-36) that on the request of Earth (pṛthivī) god Viṣṇu presented a Vaiṣṇava *astra* to Naraka and from Naraka it reached Bhagadatta (referred to as Prāgjyotiṣa). But what was the relation between Naraka and Bhagadatta, that is not clear.

The references to Bhagadatta in the Mahābhārata : In comparison to the Naraka episode, what is given in the *Mahābhārata* about Bhagadatta appears to be less mythical and more historical. In the Śabhā Parvan (ch. 26, vv. 7-16), in connection with the northern expedition of Arjuna, it is related that Bhagadatta, the king of Prāgjyotiṣa, resisted the Pāṇḍava hero being accompanied by Kirāta and Cīna soldiers and many others drawn from the sea-shore.¹⁹ The battle of resistance lasted for eight days and finally Bhagadatta disclosed that he was a friend of Indra, and though in no way less than the latter, could not stand any more in a battle before Arjuna as he was as good as his own son,²⁰ and finally agreed to recognise the supremacy of Yudhiṣṭhira as requested by Arjuna. Elsewhere in the same Parvan (ch. 30, vv. 26, 27) it is recounted that Bhīma, in course of his expedition to the east, reached the Lauhitya region and compelled the

¹⁸ He is also given elsewhere as Muru or Muḍu and described as the General of Naraka.

¹⁹ *sa kirātaiśca cīnaiśca vṛtaḥ prāgjyotiṣo'bhavat
anyaiśca bahubhir yodhaiḥ sāgarānupayāsibhiḥ* (Sabhā, 26. 9).

This gives an idea of Bhagadatta's empire. That it extended from the bay of Bengal in the south to Himalayan ranges in the north is warranted also by the epithets Pūrvasāgaravāsin (Udyoga, 4.11) and Parvatapati (Droṇa, 25.52).

²⁰ *ahaṁ sakhā mahendrasya śakṛādanavaro raṇe
na śakṣyāmi ca te tāta sthātum pramukhato yudhi
tvamīpsitam pāṇḍaveya brūhi kiṁ karavāṇi te
yadvakṣyasi mahāvāho tat kariṣyāmi putraka.* (Sabhā, 26.12-13)

Mleccha kings and dwellers of the sea-shore to pay taxes.²¹ The Lauhitya region was probably outside the precise traditional boundaries of Kāmarūpa and yet presumably formed a part of Bhagadatta's empire. The Mlecchas and Sāgarānupavāsins were also most probably vassals of Bhagadatta, because in the Sabhā Parvan (ch. 34, v. 9b-10a) he is again described to have been accompanied by the former in such a way that the aforesaid presumption becomes irresistible. In the Sabhā Parvan (ch. 51, vv. 14-16) it is narrated that Bhagadatta, the king of Prāgjyotiṣa, accompanied by Yavanas, brought fine horses, jewelled ornaments and swords with hilts made of ivory as present for the Pāṇḍavas. Bhagadatta's supremacy over the Cīnas and Kirātas is confirmed in the Udyoga Parvan, when it is reported that he joins the Kaurava side with one Akṣauhiṇī of soldiers, mostly Cīnas and Kirātas endowed with a golden complexion.²² In the Bhīṣma Parvan a full chapter (i.e. ch. 95), containing 86 verses, is devoted to the description of Bhagadatta's heroic feats and the great qualities of his elephant Supratika. Bhīṣma himself praises Bhagadatta to be as strong as Indra in the battle-field.²³ In the Droṇa Parvan as many as four chapters (i.e., 25 to 28) are devoted to the description of Bhagadatta's battle with Bhīma first and then with Arjuna, and finally of his death at the hand of the latter. Here also, the rôle said to have been played by the elephant²⁴ is quite noteworthy. Arjuna describes Bhagadatta to be as good as Indra and the foremost or hardly the second in the matter of driving elephants.²⁵ In the twenty-eighth chapter there is a very impressive pen-picture of this hero. As described by Krishna, this invincible gray-haired hero was so old that his eye-lids, drooping down like a lobe, closed the eyes and he used to tie a strap to keep the drooping muscles fixed higher up.²⁶ When at the instance of Krishna, Arjuna cut down the strap, Bhagadatta became deprived of his sight and Arjuna took the opportunity to kill him with arrows.

In the Karṇa Parvan (ch. 5, vv. 15-16) a reference is made again to the incident of Bhagadatta's death, and here also he is described as the master

²¹ *evam bahuvīdhān deśān vijitya pavanātmajaḥ
'vasu tebhyaḥ upādāya lauhityam agamad vali
sa sarvān mlecchanṛpatin sāgarānupavāsinaḥ
karamāhārayāmāsa ratnāni vivīdhāni ca.* (Sabhā, 30. 26-27)

²² *bhagadatto mahīpālāḥ senāmakṣauhiṇim dadau
tasya cīnāḥ kirātaiśca kāñcanāiriva samvṛtam
vabhau valam anādhrīyaṁ karṇikāravanaṁ yathā* (Udyoga, 26. 15-16a)

²³ *bhagadatto mahīpālāḥ purandarasamo yudhi* (Bhīṣma, 95, 16a)

²⁴ See ch. 25, vv. 20f and particularly ch. 26, vv. 5f where Arjuna himself praises the elephant.

²⁵ *indrād anavaraḥ saṁkhye gajayānaviśāradaḥ
prathamo vā dvitīyo vā pṛthivyām iti me matiḥ* (Droṇa, 26. 4)

²⁶ *ayan mahattaraḥ pārtha palitena samāvṛtaḥ
balisaṁchannanayanaḥ śūraḥ paramadurjjayaḥ
akṣhorunmilanārīhāya vaddhapaṇto hyasau nṛpaḥ* (Ibid, 28. 44b-45)

of the Kirātas and the dwellers of the sea-shore and a dear and highly esteemed friend of Indra. In the same place it is related that a valorous son of Bhagadatta has been killed in the Mahābhārata battle by Nakula.²⁷ This son of Bhagadatta seems to be named here as Kṛtaprajña; but this may also be an epithet to describe him as a wise man. In none of the later records there is any reference to a son of Bhagadatta named Kṛtaprajña. In the Aśvamedha Parvan two full chapters (i.e. ch. 75f) are devoted to the description of the valour shown by Vajradatta, who is clearly mentioned as the king of Prāgjyotiṣa and the son of Bhagadatta.²⁸ In later epigraphical records²⁹ also Vajradatta alone is named as the son and successor of Bhagadatta.³⁰ Only in the *Harṣacarita*, a third name Puṣpadatta is mentioned in between Bhagadatta and Vajradatta.³¹ It is also probable that Kṛtaprajña was identical with Puṣpadatta, who could not become the king due to an early demise in the battle, and as such could not also find any mention in the later records.³²

The Naraka legend in the Purāṇas: There might have been some historicity of Naraka; but already in the Mahābhārata Naraka became a legend, and in many of the later Purāṇas this legend is repeated for extolling the merits of Krishna. Thus, the Naraka legend is retold in the *Harivamśa* (Viṣṇu Parvan, ch. 63-64) with such details as that of his birth from the Boar incarnation, his installation as a king in Prāgjyotiṣa, his exploits like that of stealing Aditi's ear-rings, his death in the hands of Krishna, etc. According to this version of the story, Naraka's mother met Krishna after the former's death and handed over the ear-rings of Aditi. Krishna married and took away the thousands of girls, who have been kept as captive by Naraka, and took them away to Dvārakā, uprooted the Maniparvata of Naraka and finally returned the ear-rings to Indra. Almost the same story is given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (bk. 5., ch. 29) with the details of snatching away the umbrella of Varuṇa, ear-rings of Aditi, etc., ending with the incident of Naraka's death in the hands of Krishna and Bhagadatta's installation as the king in his place. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (bk. x) refers to Naraka as Bhauma and speaks of the recovery of sixteen thousands of girls from his forceful possession by Krishna, to be made his own wives.³³

²⁷ *bhagadattasuto rājan kṛtaprajño mahābalaḥ
śyenavaccaratā saṁkhye nakulena nipātitaḥ* (Karna, 5.29)

²⁸ It is significant that Vajradatta is also described to have shown his valour with an elephant.

²⁹ e.g. the Nidhanpur Plates.

³⁰ It is, however, confusing that in the plates of Vanamāla (V. 4) Vajradatta appears to be described as a young son of Naraka.

³¹ *mahāimanastasya anvaye bhagadatta-puṣpadatta-vajradattaprabhṛtiṣu
vyatīteṣu vāhuṣu merūpameṣu mahatsu mahūpāleṣu, etc.* (HC. VII)

³² See KŚ. p. 10f for this conjecture.

³³ *anyāścaivamvidhā bhāryāḥ kṛṣṇasyāsan sahasraśaḥ
bhaumāḥ hatvā tannirodhādāhṛtās cārudaṛṣanāḥ* (X., 58. 58)

The whole of the fiftyninth chapter describes the killing of Mura³⁴ and Naraka and recovery of the sixteen thousand girls and the *kuṇḍalas* of Aditi. Krishna took away the girls to his own harem and came personally to Indra and returned the *kuṇḍalas* to Aditi.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* has been composed in ancient Kāmarūpa in around 1000 A.D. Of all the traditional works, this one presents the largest volume of materials for the socio-cultural history of ancient Assam. This *Purāṇa* also (chapters 36-40) repeats the story of Naraka with the greatest detail. One whole chapter (i.e. ch. 40) containing 143 verses is devoted to describe only the later misdeeds and the death of Naraka, in connection with which it is said that Naraka thrice defeated Indra and snatched away the pair of ear-rings of Aditi which used to emit all types of jewels and ambrosia and could ward off misfortune and danger.³⁵ When Krishna killed him Naraka's mother herself returned the *kuṇḍalas* and requested Krishna to install Bhagadatta as the king. Krishna did accordingly, and recovered the umbrella of Varuṇa,³⁶ earned a fabulous booty, uprooted the whole of the Maṇiparvata which Naraka constructed for the sport of the celestial damsels and took away the fourteen thousand beautiful captive girls for his own harem.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* (vv. 114f) speaks of Naraka's birth in a place called Kokāmukhatīrtha through the union of Earth and Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* refers to the killing of Naraka as one of the feats of Krishna.³⁷ The *Agni Purāṇa* refers also to the gaining of the girls along with the aforesaid feat.³⁸ The Naraka episode is given also in the locally composed *Yoginī Tantra* (Pūrvārdha, 12th Paṭala).

The legendary nature of the whole story with such absurd accounts as that of Naraka ruling for five thousand years is quite obvious. But shorn of the exaggerations and absurdities the kernel story yet appears to have a historical basis in so far as it tends to be warranted by a very strong local tradition and the existence of such local names like that of the Narakasur Gaon, near Gauhati and the Asurar Ali, i.e., the footpath leading to the Kāmākhyā temple.

The legend of Bāṇa : A similar episode, which also appears to have been based on historical facts, as warranted by archaeological ruins and a strong local belief is that of king Bāṇa of Śoṇitapura, identified as

³⁴ Naraka's general Mura is also called Muru in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṃśa*.

³⁵ *adityāḥ kuṇḍalayugam trisu lokeṣu viśrutam
sarvaratnāṃṭasrāvi duḥkhavighnaharam param
jahāra narako bhaumo nirbhūto muniśāpataḥ* (KP. 40. 14-15a)

³⁶ This Vāruṇacchatra is referred to also in the *Harṣacarita*, vii and *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 2. 148ff.

³⁷ *narako nihato yena pūrijātam jahāra yāḥ* (148. 10a)

³⁸ *bhaumanu narakaṃ hatvā tenānūtāsca kanyakāḥ* (12.30)

modern Tezpur.³⁹ A reference to Bāṇa as a son of Bali is made in the first book⁴⁰ and the story of his daughter Uṣā and her secret marriage with Aniruddha is given in the fifth book (ch. 32f) of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and in the tenth book (ch. 62 to 64) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (ch. 39) describes Bāṇa as a king of Śoṇitapura, a great devotee of Śiva and a great friend of Naraka. An account of Bāṇa and the Uṣā-Aniruddha episode are found also in the *Harivaṃśa* (Viṣṇu Parvan, ch. 116-28) and briefly in the *Agni Purāṇa* (12. 41-52) too.

There is a lot of divergence of opinion regarding the location of the ancient city of Śoṇitapura. N. N. Basu locates it somewhere in the Sind⁴¹ and Anundoram Borooah places it in the Dinajpur District.⁴² R. C. Majumdar says that the ruins of this ancient city lies 18 miles south of the Dinajpur town⁴³ (of Bangla Desh). This place is far off from the river Brahmaputra. Hence, the *Kālikā Purāṇa* appears to recognise the location of Śoṇitapura in the modern Tezpur site on the bank of the said river when it is stated that Naraka received instructions from Bāṇa for worshipping Brahmā at the proximity of the river Lauhitya, which is the progeny of that very deity (i.e., which is Brahmaputra.) Cf.

*tasmād brahmā samārādhyo vacanāt tava mītraka
tatputrasya mahābāho lauhityasyāmbusannidhau
bhavatādhyāpitaścāhaṃ śiṣyotha guruṇā yathā* (KP. Chow. 39.65f)

Purāṇic references to Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa: There are many a Purāṇic work where only casual references to Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa may be found. Thus the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* names Prāgjyotiṣa and Lauhitya⁴⁴, describes the former as a 'prācyā janapada'⁴⁵ and makes reference to a city called Vijaya on a hill of Kāmarūpa of the East (Prācyā)⁴⁶ and to a forest named Guruviśāla, situated in a mountain in Kāmarūpa and said to be suitable for Sun-worship.⁴⁷ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (77.95) mentions Lauhitya as a *firṭha*, holy for *śrāddha*⁴⁸, but confusingly,

³⁹ *śoṇita* = Assamese *tej* = blood. Hence, Śoṇitapura = Tezpur. Hemachandra gives 'devīkoṣa uṣāvanam . koṭivarṣam bāṇapuram syāccoṇitapuram ca tat' (iv. 43).

⁴⁰ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 21. 2.

⁴¹ *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, I, pp. 100-103.

⁴² *Ancient Geography of India*, Publication Board reprint, 1971, p. 67.

⁴³ *History of Ancient Bengal*, (1971 G. Bharadwaj edn.) p. 320.

⁴⁴ *prāgjyotiṣāḥ salauhityāḥ* (58 . 13). Cf. Pargiter, p. 357.

⁴⁵ *prāgjyotiṣāḥca madraśca . . . prācyā janapadāḥ smṛtāḥ* (57 . 44). Cf. Pargiter, p. 331.

⁴⁶ *prācyāntu vijayam nāma kāmārupe nagopuri* (66.8). Cf. Pargiter, p. 411.

⁴⁷ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 109, 57f. Cf. ". . . there is a forest named Guruviśāla, frequented by the Siddhas, in very mountaneous Kāmarūpa—go there verily in haste. There perform your propitiation of the Sun" (Pargiter, p. 581).

⁴⁸ D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 298.

as situated on the bank of the Vaitaraṇī, and refers to Prāgyjyotiṣa as an eastern country.⁴⁹ The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (ch. 27) mentions Prāgyjyotiṣa as a kingdom; The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (81.16a) mentions Kāmarūpa, with the Kāmākhyā located therein, as a greatly holy place⁵⁰; and the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Kumārikā khaṇḍa, ch. 59) also refers to Prāgyjyotiṣa.

Source materials in secular literature : The *Bṛhatsamhitā*, in the Kurmavibhāga section (14.6) refers to Prāgyjyotiṣa and Lauhitya as two different but contiguous lands, and in the Grahabhakti section (16.1) names Prāgyjyotiṣa along with Cīna and Kāmbhoja. Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita* says that Vikatavarman of Videha married Kalpasundarī, a daughter of King Kalindavarman of Kāmarūpa.⁵¹ The said work is only a fiction and as such a precisely historical fact may not be expected there. But it is significant that Daṇḍin refers to the king of Kāmarūpa as Kumāra Kāmarūpeśvara, and Kalindavarman may mean Bhāskaravarman also, since both the words *kalinda* and *bhāskara* mean the sun. That Kumāra was an epithet of Bhāskaravarman is warranted also by the *Harṣacarita*, vii and the records of Yuan Chwang, which will be quoted by and by. It is probable that, Daṇḍin, a contemporary of Bhāskaravarman had the latter in his mind in time of writing this part of the story. The epithet Kumāra or Kumārarājā, as found in the *Harṣacaritā* and the Chinese records, may either mean that Bhāskara remained unmarried for whole of his life or suggest that he became the king at a very early age. In the light of Daṇḍin, the second alternative becomes more probable because of the reference to a daughter of Bhāskara. Thus the reference made by Daṇḍin is noteworthy though not precisely decisive.^{51a}

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* mentions Prāgyjyotiṣa as a city and Kāmarūpa as a mountain. In his *Karpūramañjarī* (Act I) one of the bards praises the king with the epithet *Vikkamakkaṇṭa-kāmarūba*. There is no direct reference to Kāmarūpa in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. But under 5.6.38 (or 49.38) there is a reference to Gauḍa, which the commentator Yaśodhara, in *Jayamaṅgalā* explains with the words : *gaudāḥ kāmārūpakāḥ prācyaviśeṣāḥ*. Such scanty or casual references of the Puranic or secular works obviously do not have much historical worth. But there are also some secular works which contain references of greater significance in greater detail. Thus, Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* (iv. 81-84) gives Kāmarūpa as the last country to be subdued by Raghu in his northern

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵⁰ *kāmarūpaṁ mahānīrthaṁ kāmākhyā yatra tiṣṭhati.*

⁵¹ *uktaṇica tayā kumārakāmarūpeśvarasya kalindavarmanāmanah kanyā kalpasundarī kalāsu rūpe capsaro'tikrāntī patim abhibhūya vartate. (Daśakumāracarita, iii).*

^{51a} See also p. 37 below.

expedition. When Raghu crossed over the Lauhitya, the king of Prāgyjyotiṣa began to tremble. The lord of Kāmarūpa paid homage to Raghu by offering ichor-discharging elephants. The king of Kāmarūpa worshipped the shadow of the feet of the conqueror with flowers made of jewels.⁵² In this description it is significant that the defeated king is referred to once as the lord of Prāgyjyotiṣa and twice as the lord of Kāmarūpa. What appears to be implied by this is that the name of the country was Kāmarūpa, while the name of the capital was Prāgyjyotiṣa. It may be noticed that though Kāmarūpa is recognised as a Prācyadeśa in the sources like the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary, both Arjuna (*Mbh.* Sabhā. 25.9) and Raghu (*Raghuvaṃśa*, 4.66) are said to have reached Kāmarūpa in their northern expedition. This means that the boundary of Kāmarūpa extended upto the Himalayas in the north. It may, therefore, be presumed that Prāgyjyotiṣa was the capital, and the lord of that capital startled only when Raghu penetrated much deeper into his territory and crossed over the Brahmaputra to reach the very location of the capital city.

The seventh Uchchvāsa of the *Harṣacarita* is mainly devoted to the description of the establishment of Bhāskaraavarman's political alliance with Harṣavardhana. Bhāskara's emissary Harisavega arrives at the place of Harṣavardhana with varieties of gifts sent by the former and carried by a number of porters, describes the former's lineage, and discloses the former's desire to form an alliance with the latter, which the latter duly reciprocates. Here the description of the gifts serve as an important datum for the cultural history of ancient Assam; the genealogy compares well with what is found in the epigraphs, and the event of the political alliance is of great importance for the political history of the entire northern India.

Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (c. 1085 A.D.) puts on record that the Cālukyan Prince Karṇāṭendu Vikramāṅka, during the reign of his father, totally uprooted the vast wealth of the prowess of the king of Kāmarūpa.⁵³ This invasion of Kāmarūpa possibly took place in the time of King Harṣapāla of the Pāla dynasty.

Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* (first half of the 12th century A.D.) records that an allied or feudal chief of king Rāmapāla of Gauḍa conquered

⁵² cakampe tīrṇatauhītye tasmin prāgyjyotiṣeśvaraḥ
tadgaṇālānātām prāptaiḥ saha kālāgurudrumaiḥ . . . (81)

tamiśaḥ kāmārūpāṇām atyākhaṇḍalavikramam
bheja bhīnnakajair nāgair anyān uparurudha yaiḥ. (83)
kāmārūpeśvarastasya hemapīṣhādhidevatām
ratnapuṣpopahāreṇa chāyām ānareḥ pādayoḥ. (84)

⁵³ gāyanī sma gṛhītagauḍavijayastamberamasyāhave
tasyonmūlitakāmārūpanīpatiprāgyapratāpaśriyaḥ
bhānususyandanavakraghoṣamuṣitapratyāsanidrārasaḥ
pūrvādreḥ kaṭakeṣu siddhavanitāḥ prāleyasuddham yaśaḥ (3.74)

Kāmarūpa and became highly honoured by the latter.⁵⁴ This poetical work is full of pun. In another place it is suggested that Kāmarūpa was included in the Varendrī by war (*vigraha*) (or by *Vigrahapāladeva*).⁵⁵

In Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* there are references to ancient Assam in three places : (i) Meghavāhana's marriage with the Kāmarūpa princess Amṛtaprabhā is referred to in 2.147ff; (ii) construction of a monastery in Kashmir at the instance of Amṛtaprabhā is mentioned in 3.9f and (iii) Lalitāditya's expedition upto the banks of river Lauhitya is recorded in 4.171. It will be shown a little later with an examination of the second reference to Amṛtaprabhā that the worth and implications of these evidences from the classical literature may be worked out only on the basis of a comparison with the epigraphical evidences.

The Tāntric Literature : Materials for the cultural history of ancient Assam are provided also by some Tāntric and Buddhist Tāntric texts and a few connected works. It should, perhaps, suffice here to name a few representative works like *Kālikā Purāṇa*, *Yoginī Tantra*, *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Hevajra Tantra*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, *Sādhana-māla*, the Tibetan works, *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zan* and *Grub-to'b* and Lama Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, written in Tibetan in 1608. Mention may be made also of the *Caryā Padas*. But the degree of the authenticity of these materials also deserve to be determined in the light of the epigraphical and similar other evidences.

Foreign Accounts : A very important bunch of source materials is provided by the accounts of the foreign visitors, and the most important of all of them is the record left by Yuan Chwang.⁵⁶ But one or two illustrations should suffice to show that this record also, as it comes down through different channels, is not absolutely precise. For example, from the works of Beal and Watters it may be gathered that according to the Chinese

⁵⁴ *tasya jītakāmarūpādīviṣayavinivṛttamānasampādyah*

mahimānam āpa na nṛpo yatamānasya prajābhirakṣaṇārtham. (3.47)

(*Rāmacarita*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and Nanigopal Banerji, Rajsahi, 1939). The 'view that Māyana was the name of this conqueror is due to an error in the reading of the text.' (R. C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 191n).

⁵⁵ *abhayadamanā vilapoditamanyuvṛtasamastalokā*

... vigrahanirjītakāmarūpabhṛt. (*Rāmacarita*, 4.5)

⁵⁶ Yuan Chwang's record may now be read in the following forms : (1) S. Beal's Eng. trans. called *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, London 1888, 1914; (2) S. Beal's Eng. trans. of the Chinese *Sī Yu Ki*, called *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vols. 1-2, London, 1881, 1905, reprinted in 4 volumes under a new title, *Travels of Hiouen-Th'sang*, Calcutta 1958; (3) T. Watter's Eng. trans. called *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, 1904; vol. II, 1905; (4) P. C. Bagchi's Eng. trans. called *She Kia Fang Che*, Viśva Bharati, 1959. The author of the original Chinese work had given the description as he heard it from Yuan Chwang.

Pilgrim, Bhāskaravarman was a brahmin and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva.⁵⁷ Cf.

(1) The present king belongs to the old line (*iso yan*) of Nārāyaṇa-deva. He is of the Brahman caste. His name is Bhāskaravarman, his title Kumara (Keu-mo-lo).⁵⁸

(2) The reigning king, who was a brahmin by caste, and a descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva, was named Bhāskaravarma ("Sun-armour"), his other name being kumāra ("youth");⁵⁹

But the *She-Kia-Fang-Che* records that Bhāskaravarman was a Kṣatriya (and not a brahmin) and his ancestors hailed from China (=Han) itself having nothing to do with Nārāyaṇa Deva. Cf.

(3) . . . Kumararaja is of ksatriya race. He told our envoy Li-yi-piao that his dynasty was 4000 years old and that his ancestors who were saintly beings came flying from the land of the Han and became king over this land . . .⁶⁰

In the face of the contradictions and confusions of this nature the local epigraphical records emerge out relatively as the most dependable documents which may be supplemented by others.

Of the few Muslim records relevant to the ancient period of the history of Assam, Alberuni's account contains only a scanty reference to the location and extent of Kāmarūpa.⁶¹ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*⁶², written during the 13th century A.D. by Minhājuddīn Sirāj is of great importance since it contains valuable information regarding the invasions of Bakhtiyār (in 1205-6 A.D.), Ghīāsuddīn (in 1226 A.D.), Nāsiruddīn (in 1228 A.D.) and Yuzbak (in 1256-57 A.D.). Most of these accounts are supported also by another work named *Riyāz-us-Salāṭīn*.⁶³

Ancient foreign works like the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (1st century A.D.) and *Ptolemy's Geography* (2nd century A.D.) are also recognised as important sources.⁶⁴ But the data provided by them are to a great extent ambiguous and uncertain.

Epigraphical sources : In contrast with the literary sources we

⁵⁷ It implies the legend of Naraka's birth from the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu.

⁵⁸ Beal, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, vol. iv, p. 404f.

⁵⁹ Watters, vol. ii, p. 186.

⁶⁰ p. 59.

⁶¹ Marching from Knoj towards the east, you come to Bārī . . . the empire of Shilahat . . . the town Bihat . . . Further on the country to the right is Tilwat, the inhabitants Tarū, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks. Thence you come to the mountains of Kāmṛū, which stretch away as far as the sea," Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (1910), p. 201. (Bk. I)

⁶² H. G. Raverty, (tr), *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, London, 1881.

⁶³ Abdus Salam (tr), *Riyāz-us-Salāṭīn*, Calcutta, 1902.

⁶⁴ *HCPA*, p. 16f.

have in the epigraphs certain more dependable data, which are more reliable also as contemporary accounts.⁶⁵ This type of documents may be divided into two classes namely local epigraphs and outside epigraphs. Of the outside epigraphs concerning ancient Assam, the following ones deserve special-mention :

(1) Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 350 A.D.). It refers to the kings of *Ḍavāka* (located in modern Nowgong District) and *Kāmarūpa* as *pratyanta nripatis*.⁶⁶

(2) Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (c. 525-35 A.D.).⁶⁷ It speaks of Yaśodharman's *digvijaya* upto the Brahmaputra.⁶⁸

(3) Aphsad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena (c. 672 A.D.).⁶⁹ It says that the fame of Mahāsenagupta arising out of the feat of his defeating Susthitavarman used to be sung widely on the banks of Brahmaputra.⁷⁰

(4) Kathmandu (Nepal) Paśupati Temple Inscription of Jayadeva II.⁷¹ It records that Jayadeva Paracakrakāma married Rājyamatī, daughter of Śrī Harṣadeva, who was the master of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kālīṅga and Kośala. This king Śrī Harṣadeva was decidedly a king of Kāmarūpa, since his

⁶⁵ These are, no doubt, supplemented by pre-historic finds like the neoliths and megaliths, and monuments, icons, coins and similar archaeological finds of the historical period.

⁶⁶ (समतट-उवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कचूर्पुरादि-प्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिः...सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरण...) (line 22). *Select Inscriptions*, p. 265; Fleet, *CII*, iii, pp. 6ff.

⁶⁷ Fleet, *CII*, iii, pp. 146f; Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* xviii, pp. 219f, xx, p. 188; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 418ff.; *HLL*, pp. 136f.

⁶⁸ अलौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवनगहनोपत्यकादा महेन्द्रा-
दा गङ्गाशिलघसानोस्तुहिनशिवरिणः पश्चिमादा पयोधे ।
सामान्तैर्यस्य बाहुव्रविणहतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडारत्नाङ्गशुराजिव्यतिकरशवला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥

⁶⁹ Fleet, *CII*, iii, p. 203; *HLL*, pp. 149ff.; *KS*, Bhūmikā, p. 15.

⁷⁰ श्रीमहासेनगुप्तोभूतस्माद्वोराग्रणीः सुतः ।
सर्व्ववीरसमाजेषु लेभे यो धुरि वीरतां ॥ (१३)
श्रीमत्सुस्थितवर्म्मयुद्विजयश्लाघापदाङ्कः सुहु-
र्यस्याद्यापि विबुदकुन्दकुमुदक्षुण्णाच्छहारं सितं ।
लौहित्यस्य तटेपु शीतलवनपूतकुलनागदुम-
च्छायासुतविबुदसिद्धमिथुनैः स्कीतं यशो गीयते ॥ (१४)

⁷¹ Indrajī and Buhler, *Ind. Ant.* ix, pp. 163-194. (pp. 115-19). The date was wrongly read earlier as 159. It should be 153=737 A.D.

daughter is said to have been born in the family of king Bhagadatta.⁷² Hence, he is rightly supposed to be identical with Harṣavarman of the Śālastambha family.

(5) Samgad Inscription of the Rāstrakūṭa king Dantidurga (752 A.D.)⁷³, which speaks of Dantidurga's victory over the army of Kaṇṇāṭaka, i.e., the western Cālukya Prince Kirtivarman, who, on his own part, was an expert in defeating the lord of Kāñci, the king of Kerala, the Colas, the Pāṇdyas, Śrī Harṣa and Vajrata. Śrī Harṣa is taken to be the Kāmarūpa king Harṣavarman of the Śālastambha family.

(6) Bhāgalpur Grant of Nārāyanapāla of Gauḍa⁷⁴ speaks of diplomatic relation between Devapāla's Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa.⁷⁵

(7) The Grant of the Gaṅga king Avantivarman (922 A.D.) which records a donation of land to Viṣṇusomācārya of Kāmarūpa.⁷⁶

(8) Paścimbhāg Copper Plate Grant of Śrīcandra (10th century A.D.)⁷⁷ speaks of the conquest of Kāmarūpa by Śrīcandra, and refers to Lauhitya and Puṣpabhadra.⁷⁸

(9) Belava Grant of Bhojavarman (12th century A.D.)⁷⁹ speaks of the humiliation of the glory of Kāmarūpa by king Jātavarman of

⁷² मायदन्तिसमूहदन्तमुसलक्षुण्णारिभूभृच्छिरो
गौडोद्वादिकलिङ्गकोसलपतिश्रोहर्षदेवात्मजा ।
देवी राज्यमती कुलोचितगुणैर्युक्ता प्रभूता कुलै-
येंनोदा भगदत्तराजकुलजा लक्ष्मीरिव क्षमाभुजा ॥ (१५)

⁷³ *Ind. Ant.* xi, 1882, p. 114.

⁷⁴ *Ind. Ant.* xv, pp. 304f; *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 163ff.

⁷⁵ ... राजा प्रागज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित्सकथां यस्य चाज्ञां. (६)

⁷⁶ *JARS*, iii, pp. 113-15; *Jor. Andhra Historical Society*, ii, p. 271; R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, i, pp. 233-241. cf. (वेदवेदाङ्गपारमेभ्यः कामरूपविषयशृङ्गादि-
काग्र-हारवास्तवेभ्यः पराशरसमोत्रेभ्यो विष्णुसोमाचार्यपादेभ्यो विवाहसमये कन्यादानम् उदकपूर्व-
कृत्वा...) (quoted in *CHA*, p. 121).

⁷⁷ *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, pp. 81-152

⁷⁸ यत्सैन्यैः किल कामरूपविजये रोहकपोतीधना
निर्व्विष्टाः भलपाकपिङ्गकदलीकुञ्जभ्रमद्वानराः ।
रोमन्थालसवद्धनिद्रचमरीसंसेवितप्रान्तरा
लौहित्यस्य वनस्थलीपरिसराः कालागुरुश्यामलाः ॥ (१२)
सैषा चित्रशिला मनोरमशिला पुष्पप्रतानाचिता
तालीसच्छदमूर्मरैः परिसरैः सा पुष्पभद्रा नदी । (१३क)

⁷⁹ *Ep. Ind.* xii, pp. 37-43; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, pp. 14f; *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 234-244.

Vikramapura.⁸⁰ But the poet plays upon the word *śrī* in such a poetical manner that the particular verse seems to speak only about the king's surpassing the Cupid (=Kāmarūpa) in beauty.

(10) Deopāra Inscription of Vijayasena (12th century A.D.)⁸¹ records that Vijayasena drove away certain Kāmarūpa king.⁸² It should not mean the 'submission of a Kāmarūpa ruler' (as supposed by P. C. Choudhury) but should mean that Vijayasena drove away an aggressive Kāmarūpa king (as alternatively conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharya)⁸³

(11) Mādhānagar Grant of Lakṣmaṇasena (12th century A.D.)⁸⁴ speaks of his establishing supremacy over some Kāmarūpa king.⁸⁵ According to N. G. Majumdar 'this king of Kāmarūpa was Rāyārideva, grand father of Vallabhadeva, whose inscription, dated 1184-85, records the conflict of this grand-father's army with the elephants of Bengal'.⁸⁶

(12) Śilimpur Stone-slab Inscription of the Time of Jayapāla-deva⁸⁷ records a Tulāpuruṣādāna⁸⁸ made by king Jayapāladeva⁸⁹, whose generosity is recorded also in the *Chāndogapariśiṣṭaprakāśa*.⁹⁰

⁸⁰ गृह्ण्वैष्यपुत्रश्रियं परिणयन् कर्णस्य वीरश्रियं
योद्धेयु प्रथमच्छ्रियं परिभवंस्तां कामरूपश्रियम् ।
निन्दन्दिव्यभुजश्रियं विकलयन् गोवर्द्धनस्य श्रियं
कुर्वन् श्रोत्रियसाच्छ्रियं विततवान् स्वां सार्वभौमश्रियम् ॥ (८)

⁸¹ *Ep. Ind.* i, p. 305-15; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii, pp. 42-56; *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 244-58.

⁸² गौडेन्द्रमद्रवदपाकृतकामरूपभूपं कलिङ्गमपि यस्तरसा जिगाय ॥ (२० ख)

⁸³ *HCPA*, p. 22; *KŚ*, Bhūmikā, p. 42. n3. The word अपाकृतकामरूपभूपं may be either an adverb or an adjective to गौडेन्द्र. In the former case it will mean that Vijayasena himself first drove away the king of Kāmarūpa and then had a chase after the king of Gauḍa. In the later case it will mean that the king of Gauḍa himself drove away some aggressive Kāmarūpa monarch before he himself became chased by Vijayasena.

⁸⁴ *JASB* (NS), V (1909), pp. 467ff.; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. iii; *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 277-289.

⁸⁵ विक्रमवशीकृत-कामरूपावनीमण्डलैकचक्रवर्ति- (line 32).

⁸⁶ *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 289.

⁸⁷ *Ep. Ind.* xiii, p. 283-95.

⁸⁸ It is one of the sixteen *mahādānas* where a gift of gold etc., equal to the weight of the donor is made over.

⁸⁹ यः कामरूपनृपतेर्जयपालदेवनाम्नः तुलापुरुषदातुश्चिन्त्यधाम्नः ।

हेम्नां शतानि नव निर्भरमर्थमानो नैवाददे दशशतोदयशसनं च ॥ (२२)

⁹⁰ तस्माद्भूषितसाविभूमिवलयः शिष्योपशिष्यब्रजै-

र्विद्वन्मौलिरभूदुमापतिरिति प्राभाकरग्रामणीः ।

दमापालाज्जयपालतः स हि महाश्राद्धं प्रभूतं महा-

दानं चार्तिगणार्हणार्द्रद्वयः प्रत्यग्रहीत् पुण्यवान् ॥

(*Chāndogapariśiṣṭaprakāśa*, quoted in *Ep. Ind.* xiii, p. 289. See also *KŚ*, Bhūmikā, p. 37).

(13) Rājghaṭ Inscription of Bhīmadeva (12th century A.D.)⁹¹ speaks of Bhīmadeva (Minister of Gauḍa Madanapāla, c. 1143-61 A.D.), credited with the saving of Gauḍa Varendra from the waters in the form of the kings of Rāyāri's lineage. (Vide v. 5)

(14) According to the Maināmatī Plates of Laḍaha Candṛa, Śrī Candṛa "made complete the vows, in the form of shedding of tear-drops of the ladies of Lord of Prāgjyotiṣa and made the blossom-like lips of the ladies of the harem of the Gauḍa king devoid of smile in the shape of lotus stalk".⁹²

(15) According to the Maināmatī Plate of Govinda Candṛa, Kalyāṇa Candṛa made the river Lauhitya "redoubled by the tears densely dropping down from the eyes of the Mleccha ladies who were agitated owing to the killing of their husbands..."⁹³

The Local Epigraphs : The local epigraphs of the ancient period are found in the following forms—(1) rock engravings, (2) copper plates issued by kings, (3) engravings on clay or metal seals and (4) inscriptions on the body of stone idols. These documents provide by far the most dependable data for the history of the ancient period. It must be admitted that even these documents contain some legendary elements like the repeated reference to the episode of Naraka's stealing away the ear-rings of Indra's mother Aditi. Some amount of poetical exaggeration also surely creep in to the passages concerned with the eulogy of the patron kings.⁹⁴ Yet their worth as historical evidences can never be gainsaid. Moreover, what is found in literary sources can be utilised in a better way only in combination with the data provided by these documents as it will be shown below with an illustration.

An evidence of the Rājatarāṅginī examined : In *Rājatarāṅginī* (ii. 148 ff) Kalhaṇa gives us to learn that king Meghavāhana of Kashmir married a Prāgjyotiṣa princess named Amṛtaprabhā. With reference to this royal couple the poet again says :

*bhogāya deśyabhikṣūṇāṃ vallabhāsyāmṛtaprabhā
vihāram uccair amṛtabhavanākhyam akūrayat.*

⁹¹ *Ep. Ind.* xxxii, p. 278 ; xxxvii, pp. 245ff.

⁹² A. H. Dani, *Proc. Indian Historical Congress*, 1961. Vide *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 26.

⁹³ A. H. Dani, *Ibid.* Vide *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 27.

⁹⁴ In the Bargāon inscription of Ratnapāla in the context of the description of the city of Durjyā there is a reference to Śakas. But there was no Śaka ruler in the time of Ratnapāla, and the whole description seems to have been modelled on the description of Prabhākaravardhana in the *Harṣacarita*. Hence, cf. यच्च शकक्रीडाशकुनिदृढपञ्जरेण etc. (Infra p. 157, lines 34ff) withतेषु चैवमुत्पद्यमानेषु क्रमेण उदयादि दूग्गहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरः गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकलः लाटपाटवपाटचरः मालवलक्ष्मीलतापरशुः...प्रभाकरवर्द्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः । (*Harṣacarita*, iv.)

*deśaikadeśāl lornāmnah prāptastasyāḥ putur guruḥ
stunpā tadbhāṣayā prokto lostonpā stūpakāryakṛt.* (ii, 9f)

This is often cited as an evidence of the prevalence of Buddhism in Assam in the pre-Bhāskara-varman period⁹⁵, in the light of the translation given by M. A. Stein which runs as follows :

His queen *Amṛtaprabhā* caused a lofty Vihāra called *Amṛtabhavana* to be constructed for the benefit of foreign *Bhikṣus*.

The spiritual guide (*guru*) of her father, who had come from a foreign country called *Loh*, and who in the language of that [country] was designated as *Stunpā*, built the stupa (called that of) *Lo-Stonpā*.

The place called *Loh* has been sought to be identified with *Leh*, the capital of *Ladakh*. But M. A. Stein opines that it must remain an open question whether we have not in *Leh* the name of some other Tibetan territory.⁹⁶ It is further observed by him that *stunpā* was actually a Tibetan word and "from the expression used by *Kalhaṇa* (*stunpā tadbhāṣayā prokto*) it is clear that *Kalhaṇa* knew the Tibetan term to be the equivalent of 'Guru' and not, as has been supposed, a proper name."⁹⁷ King *Meghavāhana* of *Kashmir* flourished in the 5th century A.D. and most probably *Amṛtaprabhā* was a daughter of King *Balavarman I* of *Kāmarūpa*. On the authority of *Kalhaṇa* it has been sought to deduce that *Amṛtaprabhā* brought to *Kashmir* a Tibetan Buddhist *Guru*, who was a preceptor of her father, and got a Vihāra constructed in the territory of her husband, under the supervision of the said *Guru*, and thus, a remote ancestor of *Bhāskara-varman* became a Buddhist and Buddhism spread into *Kāmarūpa* long before the visit of *Yuan Chwang*.⁹⁸ Though there is no explicit mention of Buddhism in the said verses, yet the present deduction seems to be warranted by the nature of King *Meghavāhana*, who appears to have decidedly come under the influence of Buddhism. With reference to *Meghavāhana*, *Kalhaṇa* says :

In the reign of this king, who hated killing like a *Jina*, the [effigy of an] animal in ghee was used at the sacrifice (*kratu*) and in pastry at the 'offering to the spirits (*bhūtavali*)'.⁹⁹

But against the above interpretation of the words of *Kalhaṇa* we find in the CP grants of *Bhāskara-varman* that till his time the Vedic Brahmanical religion enjoyed full predominance in *Kāmarūpa*. In the *Dubi* plates it is clearly stated that *Balavarman*, the supposed disciple of *Stonpā* and father of *Amṛtaprabhā*, performed a large number of sacrifices accompanied

⁹⁵ *EHK*, pp. 30, 97 ; *HCPA*, pp. 137 f, 402.

⁹⁶ Stein, *Rājatarāṅginī* (trans), p. 73 (Note).

⁹⁷ Stein, *Loc cit*, K. L. Barua and P. C. Choudhury, however, take *Stunpā* to be a proper name. (*EHK*, p. 30 ; *HCPA*, p. 402)

⁹⁸ *EHK*, p. 30.

⁹⁹ *Rājatarāṅginī*, iii. 7.

by very good amount of Dakṣiṇā.¹ Just as his son-in-law and counterpart at Kashmir continued to perform sacrifices (*kratus*), though in a 'non-violent' way, Balavarman also used to perform *kratus*. It could be presumed that Balavarman's association with Stonpā was only of the degree of Bhāskara's attitude towards Yuan Chwang and was prompted by his spirit of religious toleration. But the difficulty in the way of this presumption is that while Yuan Chwang is never mentioned as a *guru* of Bhāskara, Stonpā, as interpreted by Stein, is mentioned as 'the spiritual guide (*guru*)' of Amṛtaprabhā's father. Kalhaṇa, who belonged to Kashmir and wrote in the 12th century A.D., has been far off from Kāmarūpa and distant from Balavarman by seven centuries, while the author of the Dubi plates himself belonged to Kāmarūpa, and was separated from Balavarman only by two centuries. Thus, it would be more reasonable to believe the inscription than even the chronicle of Kalhaṇa. Hence, to be fair to the authors of these apparently contradictory records we feel prompted to translate the concerned verses as follows :

His beloved Amṛtaprabhā caused a lofty Vihāra called Amṛtabhavana to be constructed for the benefit of the Bhikṣus belonging to (her own, i.e., paternal) country. (V. 9)

There arrived (prāptaḥ) a *guru*, who is in his own language called *stunpā*, from a province (*deśaikadeśa*) named Loh, belonging to the dominion of her father² and built the Stūpa (called that of) Lo-stonpā. (V. 10)

Thus, in our opinion, in the concerned verses there are references to two different constructions, viz., a monastery, called Amṛtabhavana for housing *bhikṣus* from her own country and a *stūpa* or sacred mound, called 'Lo-stonpā stūpa', the construction of which has been done under the supervision of the 'Guru from Loh'. The term *ekadeśa* means 'a part', and thus the term *deśaikadeśa* should mean a province. In both the Nidhanpur plates (V. 9) and the Dubi plates (V. 15) there is more emphasis on the prowess of Balavarman. It appears, therefore, to be more likely that Balavarman's territory comprised of a portion of the Tibet also. That Tibetan portion of the territory might have been called the province of Loh. It is quite probable that the inhabitants of this province were Buddhists and they were treated by Amṛtaprabhā as her compatriots (*deśyas*), and hence, the Bhikṣus hailing from that province are called *deśyabhikṣus*. Stunpā, most probably, was one of such *deśyabhikṣus*.

¹ इष्टा च नैकैः क्रतुभिः सुदक्षिणैः (Dubi plates, v. 16)

² We better construe तस्याः पितुर्देशैकदेशात् लोर्नाम्नः प्रातः गुरुः, etc. There is, in fact, no justification of taking the word *deśaikadeśa* in the sense of 'a foreign country' and of connecting *guruḥ* with *tasyāḥ*. Stunpā is referred to as a *guru* in a general way and not as the preceptor of any particular person.

Thus, while the reference in the *Rājataranginī* seems to recognise a Buddhist province of the dominion of Amṛtaprabhā's father, it does not stand as an unquestionable testimony to the prevalence of Buddhism within the traditional limits of Kāmarūpa during the fifth century A.D. It, however, speaks of a cultural contact between Kashmere, Kāmarūpa and Tibbet and a Catholicity of outlook of the kings of Kashmir and Kāmarūpa in those days.

On the Corāṭbari grant of Ratnapāla:

The present anthology includes almost all the available epigraphical records belonging to the ancient period of the history of Assam, i.e., from the earliest times upto the Assam Plates of Vallabha. With the Kānāi Baraśi Bovā Rock Inscription we enter into the medieval period, the inscriptions belonging to which are now found in an useful anthology called *Prācyaśāsanāvalī*.³

It is, however, a matter of regret that one inscription, viz. the Corāṭbari grant of Ratnapāla, belonging to this very period could not be adequately accommodated in the present anthology. Some years back it has been lying with Dr. P. C. Choudhury, though his paper 'Historical Materials in the Caratbāri Copper Plate Grant of Ratnapāladeva' has come out only very recently in August 1977⁴. It is further regretted that earlier we gathered the information that the name of the city of Haḍapeśvara is referred to in line 36 of this document.⁵ But after we have received the photograph of the inscribed pages of the document from the Department of Archaeology and State Museum, Assam on 10.10.77, it is now found that the word Haḍapeśvara does not occur at all in the readable portion of the inscription.

It could not be gathered precisely as to how and when the document came to the Assam State Museum. There are three copper plates, each measuring 28 Cm. × 19 Cm., bound together and attached to a customary royal seal. It is a land grant issued by Ratnapāla in the 12th regnal year. The first inscribed page is very badly damaged in the middle and in other pages also the letters are very much worn out. But so far as the first inscribed page is concerned our loss is not very great, because upto *guṇadoṣavido bhavasya* (verse 15) occurring in line 26 of plate IIA, the text is same as in the other two grants of the same king. Again the text beginning with *yathayatha(m) samupasthita* (occurring in line 55) upto . . . *sarvvapīḍāśāsanīkṛtya* (in line 60) is common with the corresponding text of the Bargāon

³ Compiled and edited by Dr. Maheswar Neog, Publication Board, Assam, 1974.

⁴ *Journal of Indian History*, vol. LV. April-August, 1977, part i and part ii, pp. 61-69, with three plates. The paper does not contain the text of the document nor any translation thereof.

⁵ See *infra*, p. 223.

grant. There are in all 23 verses of which the first 15 are common to other two grants. With this charter Ratnapāla donated a land capable of yielding 4000 units of paddy sliced off (*apakṣṭa*) from the Śāntidāsa Pāṭṭaka and Bhaṭṭayā Pāṭṭaka belonging to the Haṅga Viṣaya on the day of the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrānti (i.e., the Māgh Bihu) to a donee named Siddhapāla, son of Nidhipāla and Dattāyikā and grandson of Jayapāla. The text of the portion not common with the Bargāon grant, as far as we could read, is presented below. This portion is devoted mainly to a beautiful description of the city of Haḍapyaka and King Ratnapāla, and as usual, also to the description of the donee and the boundary of the donated land.

Metre of the exclusive verses : VV. 16, 19, Upajāti (IUIU) ; V. 17, Upajāti (IUII) V. 18, Upajāti (UIUI) ; V. 20, Upajāti (UIIU), V. 21, 23, Indravajrā, V. 22, Upajāti (IIUI).

Text of the exclusive portion :

PLATE IIA

26. ...गुणदोषविदो भवस्य ॥१५॥ श्रीमत्तथास्यापि हृदयकारव्यं U—U—6
27. नगर() महीयः । तत्पैतृकं वीरवरैकरदयं परै (र) जय्यं समभूद् वरेण्यं ॥१६॥—7
28. सतां यत्र गुणैर्वरिष्ठैर्यशान्सि कुन्देन्दुसमप्रभाणि । सौधध्वजा [ग्रग्रधितानि]
29. मन्ये मुक्तानि पौरैरिव तानि तानि ॥१७॥ उविग्रहा वीरनरैकसेव्या स[म्यग्विभा-]
30. गेन विचित्ररूपा⁸ । चलत्पताकाचितचारूपा यल्लासिका—UU—U— ॥१८॥
31. ॥ यत्र च विविधविगुलधुरसदनधवलमञ्जरीभिर्महा.....
32. मातङ्गदन्तनिर्मिताभिषेकवेदिकाभिः परलोकगामिनो.....
33. ...निवसन्ति स्म चिरन्तनभूभृतः । अपि च यत्र प्रवल...
34. ...लितफरफरायमाणदीर्घपताकाभिः गरसमीरणाद्वति...
35. ...रणितमणितोरणमालिकाभिरनेकवापिकासञ्चरण...
36. ...भिरामन्त्रि(?) ता इव दिगन्तराणि व्यचलन्(?) पुनरावृत्तयो...
37. तानेकगजगण्डशैलेनाजघ्रवदसनोरावि...
38. ...विविधकनकजटावालिभक्तुपेन...
39.
40.

⁶ It may be विशालमासी-

⁷ It may be प्रायः.

⁸ No distinction has been maintained between रु and रू.

PLATE IIB

41. ...घननिपतितदानवारिपङ्क्तिऽपि प्रविस्खलन्त्युष्णवारिणा नोपकारिणः
 42. छुजनसेवनीयं । कृष्णपुरीप्रतिममपि...विहितराज-
 43. मार्गमपि दुरगमं । महामूल्यमपि⁹ रमणीजनरामणीयकं । अतिविस्तीर्णमपि
 सम्भृतियुक्तं
 44. । यत्र च गुणेषु गौरव(') न हि¹⁰रण्यादिषु । क्षयो रिपुषु न सदोपयुज्यमानेषु
 कोशेषु । मत्सरो वि-
 45. द्याविवादेषु न परस्परातिसन्धानचिन्तचिन्तासु । रत्नं सदाव्यङ्गोदीर्णश्लोकेषु न
 नैर्मम(?)
 46. लयकलासु । वामता कामिनीषु । वृद्धिचलत्वं नदीषु । विषमता पक्षिगेषु¹¹ ।
 लघुता प्रभञ्जनेषु ।
 47. कृष्णवर्त्मत्वंम्वह्निषु¹² । तत्र शङ्कर इव शङ्करत्वेन । वियदिव विभूत्वेन । न-
 48. रवाहण इव कोषसम्पत्त्या दिग्गज इव दानसम्पदा । पञ्चानन इव वि-
 49. क्रमेण । भागीरथीप्रवाह इव पावनत्वेन । गिरिरिव गरिष्ठा । विधुरिव कला-
 50. योगेन । विहितवीर्युवि¹³ । विमुग्धः क्र वि¹⁴ । दहनोरिवीरुधि । कान्तो वपुषि । वि-
 51. ख्यातस्त्विवि । विपुलतरो वपुषि । भयानको विद्विषि । भौमकुलभूषणो ।
 52. महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमह्यपालवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरः-पर-
 53. ममाष्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान् रत्नपालवर्मदेवः कुशली ॥ॐ॥ हृदयविषया-
 54. [न्तः]पाति शान्तिदासपाटक । भट्टयापाटकयोरपकृष्टधान्यचतुस्सहस्रोत्पत्ति-
 55. [कभूमिः] । यथा यथ(')समुपस्थित¹⁴

⁹ Read महामूल्यमपि.

¹⁰ Here some more conjunct consonant is given above the line.

¹¹ Read पन्नगेषु. For the redundant *repha* compare the word गुर्ज of the Deopāni Viṣṇu Image Inscription below. (Appendix 2)

¹² Read कृष्णवर्त्मत्वं वह्निषु.

¹³ Read विहितवीर्योपि.

¹⁴ क्र वि is possibly an abbreviation for क्रमेण विशेषणानि.

¹⁵ From here up to शासनीकृत्य of line 60, the text is common with the other two Plates of Indrapāla.

PLATE III A

59.
60. [गोमहिषाजाविकप्रचार-] प्रमृतीनाम्बिनिवारितसर्वपीडाशासनीकृत्य ॥ भट्टोभवद्-
गौतम-
61. ...काण्वः । ब्रह्मोपमानो जयपालनामा प्रजापतिः स द्विजसे-
62. वितोद्धिः ॥१६॥ तदन्वयोपि प्रवि[शाल] कीर्तिर्वभूव भट्टो निधिपालसंज्ञः । यो वेद-
विद्या[निधि-
63. मि]स्समृद्धो ययौ समत्वं निधिपालकेन ॥२॥ द्रढा (व्यूढा)स्य षष्ठी विधिनाप्य-
नेन दत्तायिका-
64. ...यस्याः सतीत्वेन वसिष्ठपत्नी तुल्यत्वमापूर्त्न कचिदेव¹⁵ ॥ २१ ॥ अस्य
छतोऽजाय-
65. त सिद्धपालो विद्वान् द्विजातिर्द्विजराजतुल्यः । विकासिताशाकुष्ठमानि
66. सम¹⁶ग्येनार्थिनृणां धनकौमुदीभिः ॥ २२ ॥ अस्यै यजुर्वेदविदे द्विजाय
67. पित्रोस्तथा स्वस्य च पुण्यवृद्धयै । दत्ता धनुःसंक्रमणे मयेह राज्ये नवे
68. द्वादशवत्सरेऽस्मिन् ॥२३॥ अस्यास्सीमा पूर्व्वेण वङ्गप्राकारः । पूर्व्वदक्षि-
69. णेन सरायिविम्म सी[च्छि ?] दि[ब्रे ?]रडोव्व (?) पूर्व्वपाटः । दक्षिणेन
70. दिव्वैसा (?) नदी । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन सैव नद्युत्तरकुलस्थशालमलीवृक्षः । पश्चिमेनारव-
71. त्यशालमलीवृक्षौ । पश्चिमोत्तरेण शालमलीवृक्षः । उत्तरेण शान्तिदासजोलद-
72. क्षिणकूलः । उत्तरपूर्व्वेण हिज्जलवृक्षश्चेति ॥

On the language of the local epigraphs : The language of all the epigraphs included in this anthology is invariably Sanskrit. The literary portions of the copper plate grants also possess a high degree of literary beauty and conform to the classical kāvya-style. These were evidently the compositions of certain learned Sanskrit scholars endowed with poetic talent. But yet, the contents happen to abound in corrupt and unchaste forms. This phenomenon deserves more attention than a mere passing reference.

In his monumental work *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* (Pub. 1931) MM. Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyavinoda presents ten copper-plate grants and two rock inscriptions discovered upto his time. Bhattacharya presents in the main body of the book a completely edited reading of the charters so as to make the text free from orthographical irregularities. Thus, the main

¹⁵ Read कदाचिदेव.

¹⁶ Read सम्यग् येनार्थिनृणां.

text now embodies the charters in a chaste Sanskrit language, with indications of the original corrupt forms in the foot-notes. This modification of the text is much resented by B. M. Barua¹⁸ and D. Neog¹⁹, who would like to have the main text of the inscriptions reproduced in their raw unrefined form. Because, a careful examination of the text of the inscriptions in its crude form will show that the said irregularities or inaccuracies have a "method" in them and tend to establish the existence of a local Prākṛit language side by side the chaste and literary Sanskrit language of the royal court. The irregularities may actually be identified as instances of Prākṛitism and as such even the so-called mistakes are of immense importance for forming an idea about the local Prākṛit of those days. Regarding the probable manner in which the said local Prākṛit might have influenced the Sanskrit of the inscriptions, B. M. Barua says :

The archaic forms crept in these records and held their rightful place through the inadvertance on the part of the local composers, or that of the local scribe-engravers or that of both, in spite of the conscious attempt made for producing the legal documents, the land grants, in authentic Sanskrit.²⁰

D. Neog contends that the theory of the origin of the Assamese language from Māgadhi Prākṛit, propounded by Grierson and followed by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee is only a concoction of fact.²¹ The replacement of *ś* and *s* by *ś* is one of the main characteristics of the Māgadhi Prākṛit, as warranted by Vararuci's rule *śasau śaḥ*. But in the Kāmarūpa inscriptions we find the reverse of it, i.e., the replacement of *ś* by *s* as in the word *subhaṅkara*, substituted for Sanskrit *śubhaṅkara* in line 32 of the Subhaṅkarapātaka grant of Dharmapāla. On the basis of many such evidences, it is claimed that the Assamese language developed not from the Māgadhi, but from another parallel variety of Prākṛit, which deserves to be called the Kāmarūpi Prākṛit. As an evidence of the prevalence of a distinct variety of Prākṛit reference is often made to Yuan Chwang's observation that the speech of the people of Kāmarūpa 'differed a little from that of "Mid-India"'.²²

Some instances of linguistic irregularity and Prākṛitism of the inscriptions are shown below for conveying the idea of the presence of a local Prākṛit and the process of the growth of the Assamese language :²³

(1) Loss of repha and reduplication of the remaining concerned consonant : e.g., *kaṇṇasuvanna* for *kaṇṇasuvārṇa* (vi. 3), *savanni* for

¹⁸ IHQ. Sept. 1947.

¹⁹ *The Origin and Growth of the Asamīyā Language*, p. 43ff.

²⁰ B. M. Barua, *op.cit.*

²¹ D. Neog, *op.cit.* p. 44.

²² Watters, ii. p. 186.

²³ The Roman figure indicates the number of the document in the Table of Contents and the ordinary figure stands for the particular line where the word occurs.

sāvarṇi (vi. 101), *dordappa* for *dordarpa* (xiii. 9), *vijja* for *vīrya* (xv. 14), *savvā* for *sarvā* (xv. 19), *savvakāra* for *sarvākāra* (xxi. 3).

(2) Shortening of vowels : e.g. *guham* for *guhā* (i. 4), *śāsanikṛtya* for *śāsanikṛtya* (xiii. 58), *bruma* for *brūmaḥ* (xxi. 33). This tendency is observed also in case of the diphthongs, e.g., *dhoteśvara* for *dhauteśvara* (vi. 108), *śaniścara* for *śanaiścara* (vi. 60), *dvaratha* for *dvairatha* (vi. 11).

(3) Lengthening of vowels : e.g. *dhṛtīsvāmī* for *dhṛtīsvāmī* (vi. 82), *tiraṣkṛtā* for *tiraṣkṛtā* (xiii. 47), *ityādī* for *ityādi* (xv. 1, xvi. 1), *pratyarpṣitam* for *pratyarpṣitam* (xv. 2), *sukaviśca* for *sukaviśca* (xv. 20), *bhūvam* for *bhuvam* (xx. 42), etc.

(4) Substitution of one vowel for another : e.g., *kalpatā* for *kalpitā* (vi. 39), *vahita* for *viḥita* (vi. 39), *racata* for *racita* (vi. 40), *jaḡadu-duya* for *jaḡadudaya* (vi. 34) and *puṣkiriṇī* for *puṣkarinī* (vi. 132 ; x. 49, 50 ; xii. 49 ; xv. 52). The word *puṣkiriṇī* found consistently in as many as five places serves as the most convincing evidence of the prevalence of a local Prākṛit strong enough to influence the language of the inscriptions. The recurrence of the said word confirms that there was really a 'method' in the irregularities. That in the Khanāmukh and Puṣpabhadra plates we have the chaste form *puṣkarinī* also shows that in the earlier grants the use of the local Prākṛitised form was not deliberate, but such a form simply crept in. It appears that the vowel *ṛ* sometimes became *a* or *u*, e.g., *vahadālyām* for *vṛhadālyām* (xiii. 71), *ruṣigaṇa* presumably for *ṛṣigaṇa* (xiii. 65/66).²⁴ Reversely *ṛ* is substituted for *ri* in xiii. 19, xiii. 43, etc.

(5) Avoidance and irregularity of Sandhi : e.g., *viṣayāmātya* *avagunāsyā* (ii.3), *candraḥ iva* (iii.86), *hari adbhuto* (vi.81), *viduṣasvāmīno* *ardhāṇśaśceti* (vi.126), *tebhyo aksarāṇi* (vi.139), *lasat śrīphalaiḥ* (xxi.26). In the Assam plates of Vallabha Kielorn finds as many as eight violations of the rules of Sandhi.²⁵

(6) Loss of initial vowel : e.g. *ḡumbarī* for *uḡumbara* (vi.130)

(7) Substitution of medial *y* by *i* : e.g. *śāsaitā* for *śāsayitā* (vi.135), *dolāitām* for *dolāyitām* (xii.4.5), *tāika* for *tāyika* (xiii.35).

(8) Total loss of medial *y* : e.g. *Kāṣapo* for *Kāśyapo* (vi.123), *lakṣmā* for *lakṣmyā* (xv. 10; xvi.9), *prāḡjotiṣā* for *prāḡjyotiṣā* (xx.16).

(9) Reduplication of consonants immediately followed by *r* : e.g., *śakkram* (iii.5), *vṛttrāri* (iii.24)²⁶, *pātreṣviva* (iv.32), *bhrātrttrayena* (vi.90), *dhārittryām* (viii.14), *tattra* (xii.28), *varatirikā* (xxii.8), *puttra* (xxii.27, 28), *sattre* (xxii.57).

(10) Absence of duplication where it is otherwise necessary : e.g. *sphuta-vācamu(j)jvalām* (vi-2), *abhavat(t)asya* (vi.11), *sat(t)vavṛtti* (vi.41),

²⁴ *Guham* (i.4), supposed to be a substitute for *guhām* in the sense of a cave (temple) (vide *Ep. Ind.* xxxi. pt. 2) appears to be rather a Prākṛitised form of *gḡham* in the sense of an abode.

²⁵ *Ep. Ind.* v. p. 183.

²⁶ See also lines 4, 8, 16, 19, 31, 32, 72, etc. in iii.

tasmān(n)aitāni (vi.140), *asmi(n)neva* (xv.15), *ta(t)tvabodha* (xxi.6), *dat(t)vā* (xxi.21, 27), *sat(t)va* (xxi, 29), etc.

(11) Varieties of assimilation : e.g. *pradyunna* for *pradyumna* (vi.80), *vijja* for *vīrya* (xv.14), *vacchare* for *vatsare* (xviii.43).

(12) Wrong analogy, e.g. with *tarucchāyā* : when we have, e.g. *rājarājassamāna* for *rājarājasamāna* (iii.10), *cchatram* for *chatram* (xii.19), *proñcchayan* for *proñcayan* (xxi.29), *kkhadḡāyudhajñāḥcchurikāra* with *cch* for *ch* (xxii.34).

(13) Varied substitution for *m̐* and final *m* : (a) Final *m* is given as *m̐* very frequently in almost all the records. (b) Sometimes a mute *m* is retained even before a consonant, e.g., *kṛtam bhagavataḥ* (1. 2-3), (c) medial *m* is often given as *n̐* and *n*, and final *m* is also given as *n* e.g. *amalan* for *amalam* (xii.2), *yauvanan* for *yauvanam* (xii.19).

(14) Substitution of *h* by *gh* : e.g. *siṃghāsana* (xi.29), *dhvānto-rusaṃghati* (ix. verse 18 as read in the Asiatic Society). Substitution of *bh* by *h* : e.g., *suhaṃkara* for *śubhaṃkara* (xix.32), substitution of *j* by *y* and vice versa and substitution of *kṣa* by *kh* are also very common : e.g., *vikhaya* for *vīksya* (xiii.17).

(15) Indiscriminate substitution of one sibilant for another is perhaps the most common and the most conspicuous irregularity. e.g., *kalmśa* for *kalmāsa* (xi. 35), *ayaśaśi* for *ayaśasi* (xii. 30), *ekavimsati* for *ekavimśati* (xiii. 17), *sasāsa* for *śaśāsa* (xix. 4), *subhe* for *śubhe* (xxii, 41), etc.

(16) Irregularity of declension in case of stems ending in consonants : e.g., *svāmināya* for *svāmine* (i. 4), *śrībhutivarmmaśya* for *śrībhūti-varmaṇaḥ* (ii. 2).

(17) Absence of *viṣarga* even where it is invariably necessary is another common feature of the inscriptions, particularly noticed in the portions devoted to the description of the boundaries.

The above noted features are mostly seen in the Assamese language also, so far as its spoken aspect is concerned. In the spoken Assamese, no distinction is maintained between short and long vowels, between the dental and the cerebral sounds, etc., and *kṣa* is pronounced as *kkha* or *khyā*. Hence, the inaccuracies of the inscriptions imply that the local language had already developed with its peculiarities of pronunciation even in respect of the *tatsama* words. In certain places of the inscriptions certain local words themselves were engrafted into the Sanskrit of the text without fully Sanskritising them.

There are, however, certain scribal errors, which cannot be attributed to the influence of the local Prākṛit; they should imply that barring a limited number of pundits ordinary people carrying on ordinary trades like that of a scribe were not familiar with Sanskrit. Traces of the language spoken by the general mass of people may be found in several place—

names, personal names, tree-names, etc. occurring in the inscriptions. Non-Sanskrit place-names, etc., may be briefly noted as follows :

(1) Personal names like *Kāliyā* (vi. 136), *Sani* (= *Śani*), *Ḍhani* (= *Dhani*), *Ani* (xvi. 72) are easily found amongst the general mass of the Assamese people even to-day. In the name *Candenauki* (xiv. 61) the word *cande*, presumably derived from Sanskrit *candra*, has affinity, in respect of the suffix *e*, with such names as *Sarbbe* (from *Sarvā nanda*), *Ḍimbe* from *Ḍimba*, etc. commonly found in the Kamrup District even to-day.²⁷

(2) Deśi words like the following ones are used in large number in all the land grants : *Jāna*, *joli*, *jola* and *joli* as component parts of river-names in the sense of a small stream ; tree-names like *Jāṭali* (vi. 131), *Jaṭi* (xii. 49), *Jharipākaṭi* (xix. 59), *Bahuāla* (xix. 62), etc.; *āli*, a word found also in modern Assamese, in the sense of an embankment or a land dividing lane. The mango tree is invariably referred to with a deśi word, e.g., *ambavṛkṣa* (xvi. 58), *ambravṛkṣa* (xii. 48), and *khoḍāmbra* (xiv. 59), where *khoḍā* is a Prākṛitised form of Sanskrit *kharva* (dwarf).

(3) "Sound—correspondances with semnantic approximations" of many of the place-names, river-names, etc., with non-Aryan languages may be shown as follows :

Dijjinā (name of a river, xx. 51 ; name of a locality, xii. 33) is probably derived from Boḍo *di* (water) and *jini* (dirt). *Diddeśā* (name of a tank, xii. 49) is probably derived from Boḍo *di* (water) and *disai* (to sprinkle water). *Dirgummā* (name of a river, xv. 50) is probably derived from Boḍo *dir* (river), *gu* (grass-hopper), *mā* (a suffix indicating bigness), *Diyambārajola* (name of a river, xiv. 64) is probably derived from Boḍo *diyungma* (flood), *bara* (mouth of a river) and Santali *jola* (a shallow or marsh).²⁸

This survey should suffice to show that in ancient Assam there were three languages viz. (1) Sanskrit as the official language and the language of the learned few, (2) Non-Aryan tribal languages of the Austric and Tibeto-Barman families, and (3) a local variety of Prākṛit (i.e. a M.I.A. language) wherefrom, in course of time, the modern Assame language as a M.I.L., emerged out. Thus the preservation of the original text of the inscriptions with all the irregularities and corruptions is highly desirable for the study of the development of languages in Assam.

In view of the said exigency, we have retained the original text of the inscriptions in the main body of the book, as far as practicable.²⁹

²⁷ B. Kakati, 'Place and Personal Names in the Early Land Grants of Assam', given as Appendix I of *CHA*, pp. 226-233.

²⁸ For details see Kakati's paper referred to above.

²⁹ It is, however, regretted that out of our anxiety to conform to this practice we have used in the earlier plates only the letter *v* for both *b* and *v* leading to an obvious inconvenience of reading the text aloud. In a few later plates we thought it more reasonable to emend the text in this respect.

and shown the emendations in the foot-notes. In case of the omissions effecting a metre we have, however, preferred to make the emendations in the main body itself indicating the needed letters within bracket. This procedure is followed also in case of simple gaps caused by illegibility or loss due to corrosion. It may be pointed out here that star marks found in certain places, e.g., at the end of x. 31, are reproduced faithfully from the original plates. But in none of the plates there is any verse number. The line numbers and verse numbers are inserted by us.

In addition to the ten CP grants and the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman, given in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, the present anthology contains the text of eight more CP grants,³⁰ two seals, three more rock engravings and three inscriptions on stone images. This entire mass of material relates to various ruling dynasties of ancient Assam as tabulated below :

Genealogy : The Bhauma-Varman family : (The family of Puṣyavarman) :

The earliest royal family from which epigraphs have come down to us is the Varman family.³¹ This family is also called the Bhauma or the Nāraka family and also the Avanikula in a more literary way.³² The mythical ancestors of this line of rulers were Nāraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. Three thousand years after these mythical ancestors³³ there occurred Puṣyavarman³⁴ as the first historical king, after whom we have an uninterrupted line of rulers up to Bhāskaravarman as follows :

³⁰ We may also say nine more plates with the Corāṭbarī grant.

³¹ Presuming that the Nagājari-Khanikargāon stone inscription also related to some earlier king of the Varman family.

³² Cf. vv. 9, 10 and 12 in the Bargāon grant and line 51 of the Corāṭbarī grant of Ratnapāla.

³³ Cf. Nidhanpur plates, V. 7.

³⁴ Puṣyavarman appears to be a contemporary of emperor Samudragupta and to have some important political or matrimonial relation with him. The name of the queen of the emperor was Dattadevī and the names of the son and daughter-in-law of Puṣyavarman were Samudravarmān and Dattadevī (=Dattavati) respectively. It may be conjectured that Puṣyavarman married a daughter of Samudragupta and named his son after his maternal grand father, or, possibly Samudragupta was an overlord and Puṣyavarman named his son in the style of the overlord while changing the name of the daughter-in-law also accordingly. It is not very likely, however, that both Samudragupta and Puṣyavarman derived the common names from the source of a more powerful third monarch.

<i>Name of the ruler</i>	<i>Name of the queen</i>	<i>Tentative date</i>
Puṣyavarman		Middle of the 4th century A.D.
Samudravarman	Dattadevī ³⁵	
Balavarman I	Ratnavatī ³⁶	
Kalyāṇavarman	Gandharvavatī	5th century A.D.
Gaṇapatiavarman	Yajñavatī	
Mahendravarman ³⁷	Suvratā	
Nārāyaṇavarman	Devavatī ³⁸	
Mahābhūtarman ³⁹	Vijñānavatī	6th century A.D.
Candramukhvarman	Bhogavatī	
Sthitavarman ⁴⁰	Nayanadevī ⁴¹	
Susthitavarman ⁴²	Syāmādevī ⁴³	
Supratisthitavarman ^{43a}	Bhāskaravarman ⁴⁴	7th century A.D.

The immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman :

From verse 9 of the Bargāon gant of Ratnapāla we learn that the kingdom ruled by the kings of the family of Naraka in succession was

³⁵ Called Dattadevī in the Dubi Seal and the Nidhanpur Plates, and Dattavatī in the Nalandā Seals and the Dubi Plates.

³⁶ Called Ratnadevī in the Dubi Plates.

³⁷ Supposed to be identical with Surendravarman of the Umācal Rock Inscription. In the Nalandā and Dubi Seals he is described to have twice performed the Aśvamedha.

³⁸ Called Devamatī in the Dubi and Nalandā Seals.

³⁹ Called Bhūtarman in the Bargāṅgā Rock Inscription, Nalandā Seals and the Harṣacarita.

⁴⁰ Called Sthitivarman in the Harṣacarita and Sthiravarman in the Nalandā Seals. He is credited with the performance of two Aśvamedhas.

⁴¹ Called Nayanaśobhā in the Nalandā Seals.

⁴² His another name is Śrīmṅgāṅka. He is also called Susthiravarman in the Nalandā Seals and the Harṣacarita. He is referred to in the Apsad Stone Inscription of Adityasena (V. 14).

⁴³ Called Śyāmākṣmī (or Dhruvalakṣmī) in the Nalandā Seals, and Dhruvalakṣmī in the Dubi Seal.

^{43a} Also called Aridamanendra in the Dubi Plates.

⁴⁴ Also referred to as Kumāra in the Harṣacarita and the Chinese records.

taken over by Śālastambha, the lord of the Mlecchas. With this Śālastambha there began the rule of the Śālastambha dynasty in the second half of the seventh century A.D. That the kings of this family were called Mlecchas seems to be recorded in the Hāyūnthal grant of Harjara (v. 2) also. Here a question arises as to who was the king of the family of Naraka, who was defeated by Śālastambha. If he were a king as great as Bhāskaravarman, the fact would have been stated in the records of the kings of the Śālastambha dynasty in very clear words with great pride. So, the king from whom the throne was captured by Śālastambha must have been the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman. In this context we have to take note of the Bharatavākya of the Sanskrit play *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, who is supposed to have belonged to ancient Kāmarūpa.⁴⁵ In the final benedictory verse (Bharatavākya)⁴⁶ of the drama there is a reference to the patron king, for whose name we have four variant readings, viz., *pārthivaścandragupta*, *pārthivo dantivarmā*, *pārthivo rantivarmā* and *pārthivo'vantivarmā*. It is shown that the most probable reading here refers to the king as *Avantivarmā*, and this Avantivarman is conjectured to have been the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman. J. C. Ghosh bases this identification mainly on the point that the king is described to have descended from the Varāha avatāra. K. L. Barua⁴⁷ adds that 'the danger of the Mleccha revolt, as referred to in the śloka was actually imminent in Kāmarūpa when the strong rule of Bhāskaravarman ended with his death'. It is further conjectured that Avantivarman as the direct successor of Bhāskaravarman 'did not reign for more than five years at the longest and that Śālastambha occupied the throne of Kāmarūpa about 655 A.D. after dethroning and probably killing him'. On the strength of the surname Datta of the name of Viśākhadatta, it is further surmised that this dramatist belonged to the colony of the brahmins who were settled by Bhūtivarman, and to whom the charter was reissued by Bhāskaravarman.⁴⁸

In this context the following points are also noteworthy :

(i) Saradaranjan Roy in his edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* shows that Viśākhadatta belonged to North Bengal, since there are references to *śālī* paddy, beauty of Gauḍa women, and Khasas i.e. (Khasis) forming a part

⁴⁵ J. C. Ghosh, *JASB* (New Series), xxvi, p. 244.

⁴⁶ वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्रागदन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिञ्जये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्धे ज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्वन्धुमृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा ॥

⁴⁷ *EHK*, 2nd edn. p. 69.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 104.

of the army of Malayaketu, etc. During the reign of Bhāskara, and for that matter during the reign of his immediate successor also, North Bengal formed a part of Kāmarūpa. Hence, with the same arguments put forward by S. Roy, Viśākhadatta can be shown to be a poet of Kāmarūpa.

(ii) The name Avantivarman has similarity with the name of Bhāskaravarman and a long line of his predecessors.

(iii) The epithet *pārthiva* before the name Avantivarman may mean both 'a king' and 'the son of Pṛthivī'. The second meaning would suggest that Avantivarman belonged to the Bhauma-Nāraka family. P. N. Bhattacharya also shows that the word *pārthiva* in the expression *pārthiva vṛndārako narakah* of the fourth verse of the Nidhanpur grant may have the above two meanings.⁴⁹

(iv) In almost all the copper plate inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa kings there is an invariable reference to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu. Viśākhadatta as a poet of Kāmarūpa finds an occasion to do so in the Bharatavākya.

(v) Only in case of a Kāmarūpa king, who is often referred to as Srīvarāhaparameśvara as in the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla (line 33), it is more appropriate to show an identity with lord Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation as done in the said Bharatavākya, where it is said that Viṣṇu himself took the form of Avantivarman. This is quite in tune with the tradition of the Kāmarūpa inscriptions where a king is often described as *parameśvara*. In the expression *pārthiva vṛndārako narakah* of the Nidhanpur grant, the word *vṛndāraka* means both 'best' and 'a god'.

(vi) In most of the CP grants of the Kāmarūpa kings, and particularly in both the grants of Bhāskara, the *maṅgala* verse is a prayer to Śiva. Viśākhadatta's Nāndī verse addressed to Śiva shows that he subscribed to the same Kāmarūpa tradition.

(vii) The word *udvejyamānā* in the Bharatavākya shows that the Mleccha onslaught was a thing of the day in the time of Viśākhadatta, and it points to a time immediately before the occupation of the throne by Śālastambha, the Mleccādhinātha, an incident very clearly referred to in the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla (v. 9). Because of the troubles created by the Mlecchas, the country in those days must have seen an unusual political unrest, and this political situation also might have been responsible to some extent for Viśākhadatta's choosing a singularly political theme for his drama *Mudrārākṣasa*.

Thus it appears to be quite plausible that Viśākhadatta belonged to Kāmarūpa, and his patron was a king of Kāmarūpa named Avantivarman, who was presumably the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman.

⁴⁹ KŚ, p. 28.

The Mleccha dynasty (or the line of Salastambha) :

<i>Name of the ruler</i>	<i>Name of the queen</i>	<i>Tentative date</i>
Sālastambha (or Śālastambha)		last part of the 7th century A.D.
Vijaya ⁵⁰ or Vighrahastambha ⁵¹		
Pālaka		8th century A.D.
Kumāra		
Vajradeva		
Srīharsa ⁵²		
Balavarman II		
Srī Jīvarā (?) ⁵³		
Diglekhavarman (?) ⁵⁴		
Cakra	Arathī ⁵⁵	
Sālabha	Arathi (Queen Jīvadevī)	9th century
	Śrī Harjara (Queen Śrīmaṅgalā or Maṅgalaśrī)	Gupta 510 (= 829-30 A.D.)
	Vanamālavarman	

⁵⁰ In the Nowgong grant of Balavarman III, Vijaya is mentioned immediately after Pālaka. In the Hāyūṅthal plate, Vijaya is mentioned earlier.

⁵¹ In the Nowgong Grant of Balavarman III, Pālaka and then Vijaya are named as immediate successors of Sālastambha (V. 10). In the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla (V. 9) Vighrahastambha is mentioned as the foremost and celebrated successor of Sālastambha. He may be either the immediate successor and identical with Vijaya or Pālaka, or a later more celebrated ruler of the same line.

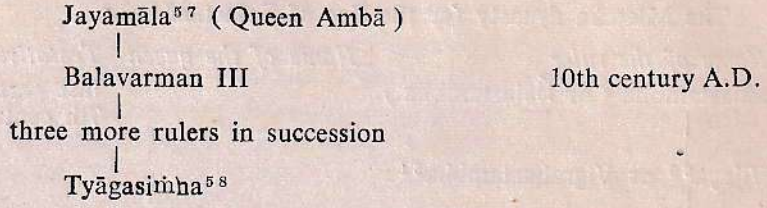
⁵² Called Śrīharsa in the plates of Vanamāla, Harṣavarman in the Hāyūṅthal plate, Srī Harṣa in the Tezpur plates of Vanamāla and Harṣadeva in the Paśupatināth temple inscription of King Jayadeva of Nepal. (V. 15).

⁵³ Mentioned only in the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa stone image inscription.

⁵⁴ Mentioned only in the Hari-Hara stone image inscription.

⁵⁵ Both Cakra and Arathī did not reign. It is confusing to have almost the same name Arathi again in the following generation.

⁵⁶ Read as Prālabha in the Tezpur plates of Vanamāla.



Ethnic identity of the Mleccha dynasty : From the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla, who did not belong to this family, it is gathered that Śālastambha, who took over the kingdom from the last king of the family of Naraka was a leader of the Mlecchas (*mlecchā-dhinātha*). In the Hayūngthal plate of Harjara (v. 2) there seems to be a hint as to why the kings of this family should be called Mlecchas, and it appears to be due to a curse. That their family is different from that of Puṣyavarman is warranted by the complete silence of their inscriptions about the kings of the earlier family. But it is significant that like the kings of the Bhauma-Nāraka family they also claim descent from Naraka or Bhagadatta, and this descent has been acknowledged also outside their own kingdom when the Paśupatiṇāth temple inscription of Nepal described Rājyamatī, the daughter of Śrī Harṣa of the family of Śālastambha as *bhagadatta-rāja-kulajā*. Now the question is about the significance of the term Mleccha in this context and the actual relation between the said two families.

Epigraphical references tend to show that both the families belonged to the same race and had a common descent. But, presumably due to following an un-Aryan way of life the family of Śālastambha earned some degree of social degradation and a derogatory designation as Mlecchas. The term Mleccha means an out cast or a very low man. Baudhāyana describes the Mleccha as a beef-eater, devoid of all good conduct and a vociferous advocate of the ideas opposed to the normally accepted ones :

*gomāṃsakhādako yastu viruddham bahu bhāṣate
sarvācāravihīnaśca mleccha ityabhidhīyate*

P. C. Choudhury rightly says that "*mleccha* is a very wide term, which was used by the Aryan Brāhmaṇas to stand for all non-Aryans." (*HCPA*, p. 191). Thus K. L. Barua's suggestion that the Mlecchas of Kāmarūpa might have been the people of the Mongoloid Mech community does not seem to be convincing. What appears to be more likely is that in case of their

⁵⁷ He is also called Virabāhu.

⁵⁸ Tyāgasimha was issueless (*nirvaṃśa*) and was the twenty-first king of the line of Śālastambha. (Bargāon grant, v. 10). In the given pedigree, however, he becomes the twenty-first only if we count Cakra and Arathī also as kings (*nṛpa*).

belonging to the Mongoloid race, they would have been referred to as Kirātas⁵⁸ and not as Mlecchas.

To make an euphemism of the social degradation of the family of Śālastambha the author of the Hayunghal plate seems to have invented the myth of a curse. This is, however, only a presumption, though it compares very well with Vasiṣṭha's curse in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (ch. 81). The anecdote in the said Purāṇa is as follows : By worshipping gods and visiting holy places the people in Kāmarūpa became so pious that Yama could no longer lay hand on any one of them. Then Yama, Brahmā and Viṣṇu requested Śiva to create a situation where Yama could exercise his authority. Śiva then instructed his *gaṇas* (i.e., devotees) and goddess Ugratārā (i.e., her devotees) to drive away the Aryans ('*caturvarṇadvijātīṣu*') from Kāmarūpa. Vasiṣṭha was already angry (*kupita*) to see this atrocity perpetrated at the instance of Śiva, and when he was about to be a victim himself he made a curse that all the *gaṇas* of Kāmarūpa should be Mlecchas (KP. 81.20f), Ugratārā should be worshipped according to Vāmācāra and Śiva should be confined to the Mlecchas alone. (KP. 81.26)

Symbolically this episode implies the suppression of the Vedic brāhmanical religion and the predominance of the Tāntric Vāmācāra cult practised by the Saivites and the devotees of Ugratārā. In the light of this it appears to be more probable that though they had the same ethnic identity as that of the family of Puṣyavarman, the members of the Śālastambha dynasty came to be known as Mlecchas because of adhering to the Tāntric Vāmācāra cult.

The Brahmapāla dynasty : When Tyāgasimīha retired to heaven without leaving any heir, his subjects decided that a ruler from the Bhauma dynasty would be more suitable for them and accordingly, because of his relation (*sāgandhyāt*) with the said family, they made Brahmapāla the king. (Bargāon grant, v. 10). Most probably the will of the subjects or the people was translated into action by the 'top officials' or the 'council of ministers' as 'their representatives'.⁵⁹

Name of the ruler	Name of the queen	Tentative date
Brahmapāla	Kuladevī	last part of the
Ratnapāla		10th century A.D.
Purandarapāla (did not rule)	Durlabhā	11th century A.D.

^{58a} Cf. KP. ch. 38.

⁵⁹ cf. HCPA, p. 227. Compare also K. P. Jayaswal's observation with reference to *Sukranītisāra*, II.3 : " - - *Prakṛitis* must necessarily signify the people or subjects meaning thereby their representatives—the chiefs of the *Paṇḍra* and *Jānapada*," (*Hindu Polity*, p. 288).

Indrapāla	Rājyadevī ⁶⁰	
Gopāla	Nayanā	
Harṣapāla	Ratnā	
Dharmapāla		12th century A.D.
Jayapāla ⁶¹		

Later rulers : While Dharmapāla deserves to be assigned to the first quarter of the 12th century, and Jayapāla to the period around 1130 A.D., the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva is assigned to 1142 A.D. Rāmapāla of Bengal earned authority over Kāmarūpa and more probably over the western part of it through the military expedition of one of his allies. During the reign of Rāmapāla's son Kumārapāla, Tiṅgyadeva ruled over the eastern region of the Pāla kingdom as a feudal ruler. When the latter started a rebellion, Vaidyadeva came to the eastern region as the general of the Pāla monarch, put down the rebellion, and subsequently became an independent ruler of the said eastern region himself. Prāgiyotiṣa was a Bhūkti and Kāmarūpa was a Maṇḍala in his kingdom and his seat of government at Haṁsakoṇci was decidedly situated within the area of the modern Kāmrup District. These points justify the recognition of Vaidyadeva as a King of Kāmarūpa.

The date of the Assam Plates of Vallabha is 1185 A.D. Vallabha does not declare himself as a King of Kāmarūpa, nor does he name his capital. Yet there are reasons to believe⁶² that he was an independent ruler and his kingdom comprised of the modern district of Kamrup and adjoining areas. He gives the following genealogy :

Bhāskara
|
Rāyārideva Trailokyasimha (Queen Vasumatī)
|
Udayakarṇa Niṣṣaṁkasimha (Queen Ahiavadevī)
|
Vallabhadeva

The manner in which the genealogy is given also tends to show that Vallabha had no mean standing as a monarch of Kāmarūpa.

⁶⁰ Mentioned in the Gachtal Grant of Gopāla.

⁶¹ Mentioned in the Silimpur Stone Slab Inscription. He was most probably a grand son if not the son and successor of Dharmapāla.

⁶² See *infra*, pp. 299-301.

Twenty years after the plates of Vallabha in 1127 śaka (*sāke tura-gayugmeśe*) when the ruler was Bartu or Pr̥thu (or Viśvasundaradeva), the army of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiar Khilji came to Kāmarūpa and faced complete annihilation as recorded briefly in the Kānāi Baraśī Bovā Rock Inscription, with which we emerge out of the ancient period of the history of Assam, so far as the study of the inscriptions is concerned.

No. 1. **UMĀCAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN**
(5th Century A.D.)

Place : North-eastern slope of Kāmākhyā hill or Nīlācala hill.
The N. E. part of the whole hill is known as Umācala.

References : D. C. Sircar and P. D. Chaudhury, *Epigraphia Indica*,
Vol. XXXI, Part II, April, 1955 (printed 1957).
See also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Museum Bulletin*, January,
1969.

Language : Sanskrit Prose, with one grammatical error and orthogra-
phical peculiarity of retaining a mute *m* before a conso-
nant, of avoiding a possible sandhi and of a final *anusvāra*
and the lexicographical peculiarity of using the word
guha for *guhā*.

Description : Incised in a rock measuring 10' (height) × 12' (breadth),
300' above the level of the river Brahmaputra flowing on
its north. The inscription contains 4 lines covering a
space 12" to 15" by 10" to 11". First line is 12" in length
and the last line is 15" in length.

Script : Eastern variety of the Gupta Alphabet, assignable to a
period between the fourth and the sixth century A.D.
The inscription is very close to the Bargāṅgā inscription of
the time of Bhūtiavarman in respect of date, script and
style.

History : In the middle of 1955 (June) Svami Sivananda brought
the inscription to the notice of Sri L. N. Das, who in his
turn brought it to the notice of the Late R. M. Nath, who
made it known to the scholarly world.

Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman

TEXT

(From impression as presented in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXI. pt. II).

1. महाराजाधिराज श्री
2. सुरेन्द्रवर्मणा कृतम्
3. भगवतः बलभद्र
4. स्वामिनाय इदं गुहं

TRANSLATION

This cave (-temple) of the illustrious Lord Balabhadra has been constructed by Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Surendra Varman.

NOTES

Textual :

1. 2. *Kṛtam*. It is a peculiarity of Kāmarūpa inscriptions to retain mute *m* before consonants indiscriminately.
1. 3. *bhagavataḥ Valabhadrasvāmināya*. *Samāsa* is avoided. *V* (व) is indiscriminately used for *b* (ब).
1. 4. *svāmināya* is a corruption. To correspond to *Bhagavataḥ* (1. 3) it should read *svāminḥ* (or *svāmina* because of the following *i*) and not *svāmine* as suggested in *Ep. Ind.*, op. cit. The word *guham* retains a final anusvāra. This is a common feature of Kāmarūpa inscriptions. Cf. Nidhanpur C.P. grant of Bhāskara-varman, V. 1, l. 4.

General :

1. This is the earliest of all the inscriptions issued or inscribed by the kings of ancient Assam. This record bears the earliest letters inscribed by the cultured people of this region.
2. The deity Balabhadrasvāmin is not mentioned in any other epigraphical record of the Gupta period, so far known to us.
3. The present inscription supplies the only instance of the construction of a cave-temple and the installation of a deity therein in the region of Assam.
4. The name of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Surendravarman is not noticed in any other inscription connected with Assam. Surendravarman is identified with Mahendrarvarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty, the grandfather of Mahābhūti-varman because,

- (i) as stated earlier, the present inscription is very close to the Bargaṅgā inscription of the time of Bhūtiavarman in respect of its style, occasion and the palaeographic peculiarities, and
- (ii) also because of the similarity of the two names Surendravarman and Mahendravarman. In Sanskrit literature in general, and also in the inscriptions in particular, we often find the use of synonyms for, or slightly different forms of, the proper names.

Compare, 'koṭakulajam *puṣpāhvaye* kriḍatā' (Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, line 14). Dr. D. C. Sircar identifies *Puṣpa* as *Puṣpapura*-Pāṭaliputra (*Select Inscription*, p. 264, Notes). The same *Puṣpapura* is referred to as *Kusumapura* in Viśakhadatta's *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, (II, 12 f.). Cf. 'aye *Kusumapuravṛttāntajño*'yaṁ *bhavatpranidhiriti gāthārithah*.' (*Puṣpa* is a synonym for *kusuma*). See Dhurava's edition, p. 123, where Pāṭaliputra = Kusumapura.

In the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman, Mahabhūtarman (of v. 14) is also referred to as Bhūtiavarman in the prose portion (l. 51) of the same plate; in Bāṇa's *Harṣaṅkita*, VII, Sthitavarman of Nidhanpur C.P. is referred to as Sthitivarman, and Susthitavarman of the former is referred to as Susthiravarman in the latter. Queens Nayanadevī and Śyāmādevī of the Nidhanpur C.P. are referred to as Nayanāśobhā and Śyāmā (?) lakṣmī,¹ respectively, in a Nālandā clay seal of Bhāskaravarman (*KS*, Bhūmikā, p. 13; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, March 1920, p. 151 f). Nayanadevī is referred to as Nayanā in the seal attached to the Dubi C. P. of Bhāskaravarman.

Thus it is very likely that the name Surendravarman of the present inscription refers to none other than Mahendravarman of the Nidhanpur C.P.

5. The present inscription was inscribed between 470 and 494 A.D., i.e. the limits suggested for the reign of Mahendravarman (*EP. Ind., op. cit.*).

¹ The name Śyāmā (?) lakṣmī is given in the *KS* with a query mark. Earlier it could not be clearly read in the Nālandā seal. But the seal attached to the Dubi C. P. gives the name of the mother of Bhāskaravarman clearly as Dhruvalakṣmī, which is also different from the name we have in another C.P. of the same king. Gaṇendrarman of the Dubi C.P. is called Gaṇapativarman in the seal of the same C. P. and elsewhere. (See *Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, No. 47, p. 292*).

No. 2. **BARGAṆGA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
BHŪTIVARMA²**

(6th Century A.D.)

- Place : The rock lies by the side of a small river, Bargaṇḡā. The find-spot is at a distance of 19 miles by road from (according to D. C. Sircar) and 14 miles to the north-east (according to N. K. Bhattasali) of Dabaka Bazar in the modern Nowgong district of Assam.
- Reference : Bhattasali, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII (1947-48), pp. 18-23; *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII. No. 4, 1941; *Bhāratavarsha*, B. S. 1348, p. 90; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1945, pp. 19-28; D. C. Sircar, *JARS.*, Vol. X, No. 3 and 4, 1943; *Bhāratavarsha*, B. S. Chaitra, 1348, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, part II, April 1953 (printed 1956); *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 143 f. and Vol. XXII, p. 113. See also D. C. Sircar, *Indian Museum Bulletin*, January 1969, and *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 384 f.
- Language : Sanskrit prose with at least one grammatical lapse and the orthographical peculiarities of avoiding a vowel-sandhi after *Viṣayāmātya* and of retaining an *anusvāra* before *ā* of the last word and a final *anusvāra*.
- Description : Incised in three lines and a quarter on one of two huge boulders each about 12 feet high and 22 × 12 feet in area. The boulders lie face to face as a gateway to a stone temple of considerable dimension, now in complete ruins.
- Script : Eastern variety of the Gupta Alphabet, almost similar to that of the Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman with difference only in case of -y- of *svāmināya* of the said inscription and the -y- of *āyusḱāma* and *Viṣayāmātya* of the present inscription.
- History : The existence of the inscription was first made known by R. M. Nath in the *JARS.*, Vol. V (1937-38). Later on N. K. Bhattasali prepared a tentative reading on the basis

² This record has been inscribed under the orders of a Minister of state of king Bhūtivarman and not by Bhūtivarman himself. Hence, we prefer to call it Bargaṇḡa Rock Inscription of the time of Bhūtivarman, in the style of the Dāmodarpur C. P. Inscription of the time of Bhudhagupta or the Siyadoni Stone Inscription of the time of Devapāla (vide, Raj Bali Pande, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, pp. 107 and 167.)

of Photographs and estampages supplied to him by R. M. Nath. Finally N. K. Bhattasali visited the site and deciphered the inscription for the first time. Subsequently the site was visited also by D. C. Sircar on 5th March 1952 after which the latest reading of this very controversial inscription has been prepared and presented in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX, part II, April 1953 (printed 1956).

Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of the time of Bhūti-varman
TEXT

(According to the latest reading of D. C. Sircar)

1. स्वस्ति श्रीपरमदैवत परमभट्टारक³ महारा(जा)
2. धिराजाश्वमेधयाजिन⁴(ः) श्रीभूतिवर्मस्य⁵ पादान(ि)⁶
3. आयुष्कामं⁷ विषयामात्य अवगुणस्य⁸
4. इदं आश्रमं ॥

TRANSLATION

Let there be welfare to all. This religious asylum (*āśrama*) (has been made) by Avaguna, the District Governor (or, the Minister of states) with a view to securing longevity of His Royal Highness Śrī Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhūti-varman, a performer of the *śvamedha* sacrifice.

NOTES

Date : We are definite that this inscription was incised during the reign of king Bhūti-varman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa, who is placed between 518 A.D. and 542 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX, pt. 2). It is not unlikely that the *āśrama* was established as a meritorious deed for ensuring well-being and longevity on the occasion of an illness of the king and that is why it was a

³ Bhattasali read

परमभागवत

⁴ Bhattasali read

याजिन्

⁵ Bhattasali read

श्रीभूतिवर्मस्य

⁶ Bhattasali read

पादानां सं

⁷ Bhattasali read

सं २०० ३० ४ मा

⁸ Bhattasali read

आयुर्गुणस्य

District Governor, (and not the king himself as in the case of the cave-temple of Umācal Rock Inscription) who got the *āśrama* established on behalf of the king for the welfare of the king. Since there is a reference to longevity (*āyuh*) and not recovery from illness (*āragya*) as such, we may presume that the *āśrama* was established towards the close of his reign and around say 540 A.D.

In the reading of N. K. Bhattacharya the date is given as सं २०० + ३० + ४ मा = the month of Māgha in the Gupta Era 234=554⁹ A.D. (*JARS*. Vol. VIII. No. 4). If we accept this date we will have to recognise a very small span of time from 554 A.D. to 566 A.D. as the period of the reign of Candramukhavarman, the successor of Mahābhūti-varman. Since there is nothing at present to warrant a longer period of reign for Candramukhavarman, the Gupta era 234 could have been easily accepted. But this era is not given in numerals. The year is given by three consonants representing three digits in the places of unit, decimal and century. These consonants are clearly shown neither by Bhattacharya nor by Sircar. The earlier contention of D. C. Sircar was that the figure in the decimal place resembles स and not ल as suggested by Bhattacharya. The middle figure, according to Bhattacharya, is a l-type 30 and Sircar contended that it is a s-type 40, similar to the 40 of the 'legends on the coins of western Satraps'. (*JARS*. Vol. X. No. 3 and 4 p. 64). But in his final reading D. C. Sircar has deciphered no date at all as shown in the text presented here. At any rate on the strength of external evidences we may place the inscription tentatively in the fifth decade of the sixth century A.D.

Textual: *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*: If we accept the reading *parama-bhāgavata*, that will be of very great significance in the matter of tracing the history of vaiṣṇavism as a religious faith in ancient Assam, and such an early epigraphical use of the epithet *bhāgavata* would be of great significance in the matter of fixing the date and the extent of the popularity of the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*. Viṣṇu worship must have been prevalent in Assam from early times; for, the Kāmarūpa kings traced their lineage to Viṣṇu through Naraka. (Nidhanpur C.P. v. 4). Bāṇabhaṭṭa also describes Bhāskaravarman to have been a scion of the Vaiṣṇava family in the *Harṣacarita*. (Cf. *vaiṣṇava-*

⁹ The difference between the Gupta era and the Christian era is 319 years; for, the former was started in 319 A.D. If the Vaiśākha of the first Gupta era fell in 319 A.D. the Māgha must have fallen in the month of January/February of 320 A.D. Hence, here the equivalent is given as 554 A.D. and not as 553 A.D.

vaiṇśaḥ). While the Nidhanpur C.P. and the *Harṣacarita* describe a state of affair during the reign of Bhāskaravarman in the seventh century A.D., the reading *paramabhāgavata* would give us an inscriptional evidence in respect of Viṣṇu worship in Assam in a still earlier period (i.e. around 550 A.D.). It appears from the inscriptions of early period that after Bhāskaravarman, vaiṣṇavism occupied only a subordinate position and it came into prominence once again, with royal patronage, during the time of Dharmapāla.¹⁰ This reference should have been of great significance also with reference to the great neo-vaiṣṇava revival under the leadership of Śrī Śaṅkaradeva in the 16th century, in Assam, which is celebrated as a main seat of tantricism.

But, D. C. Sircar, who claims to have obtained a better impression, clearly reads *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, an ordinary imperial title and not *paramabhāgavata*, which would have shown that the ruler was a devout worshipper of *Bhagavat*, i.e., God Viṣṇu.

It is suggested that Puṣyavarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty was a contemporary of Emperor Samudragupta, and in all probability a vassel or a subordinate ally of the Gupta emperor.¹¹ The performance of a horse-sacrifice by any Kāmarūpa king should signify that the Gupta power had declined and the Kāmarūpa king had become independent. In the present inscription Mahābhūtavarman is said to have performed a horse-sacrifice. (Cf. the epithet, *aśvamedhayājinaḥ*). But though, by the time of Bhūtivarman, Gupta supremacy evidently ceased to prevail in Kāmarūpa, yet Gupta culture continued to influence. Hence, we have the inscription in Eastern Gupta character, and therefore, it is very likely that the present inscription had the typical royal title *paramadaivata paramabhaṭṭāraka* on the model of the Dhanaidaha C.P.¹² (A.D. 432-33) and the two Dāmodarpur¹³ C.P. Inscriptions of Kumāragupta I (A.D. 444 and A.D. 447) and the two Dāmodarpur C.P. Inscriptions of Budhagupta¹⁴ (A.D. 482 and A.D. 476-494) and another Dāmodarpur C.P. Inscription of A.D. 543.¹⁵ The last one of these C.P.'s is almost contemporaneous with the present inscription.

¹⁰ B. K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, p. 150. See also the *maṅgala* verse of the Puṣpabhadra C.P. Grant of Dharmapāla below.

¹¹ D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX. No. 47, p. 292.

¹² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 287 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 290 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 332 ff. and p. 336 ff.

¹⁵ It is called Dāmodarpur Copper plate Inscription of the Gupta year 224 (= 543 A.D.), *Ibid.*, p. 346 ff.

It requires to be pointed out here that with reference to the performance of horse-sacrifices by Kāmarūpa kings and *vis-a-vis* their relationship with the Gupta power, D.C. Sircar makes certain hasty observations. According to him, Nārāyaṇavarman, the father of Bhūtiavarman, was the first Kāmarūpa king to perform horse-sacrifices and thus for the first time since the days of Puṣyavarman freedom from the Gupta political supremacy was declared by Nārāyaṇavarman. But a careful study or even a casual perusal of the seal attached to the Dubi C.P. and of the Nālandā seals should show that it is Śrī Mahendra, the father of Nārāyaṇavarman himself, who is described as the performer of two horse-sacrifices. The epithet *dvisturagamedhāhartā* should be connected with Śrī Mahendra. The said epithet cannot be connected with Nārāyaṇavarman because of the intervening word *Śrīśuvratāyām* in both places. In our notes under the Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman, we have given reasons for identifying Surendravarman as Mahendravarman. In the said Rock Inscription, Surendravarman does not describe himself as the performer of a horse-sacrifice. It may be conjectured that in time of inscribing the said inscription he was yet to perform the horse-sacrifices, and to declare complete freedom from the political power of the Guptas, and that is why he has also not called himself *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the supreme master.

It is again pointed out that in the seal attached to the Dubi C.P. Mahābhūtiavarman is not described as a performer of horse-sacrifice. D.C. Sircar suggests, that the horse-sacrifice, recorded to have been performed by Bhūtiavarman, in the Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription, was actually the later of the two horse-sacrifices, performed by Bhūtiavarman's father Nārāyaṇavarman, and that is why the seal attached to the Dubi C. P. is silent about the performance of a horse-sacrifice by Bhūtiavarman.¹⁶ This suggestion is not acceptable because of the following reasons :

Firstly, it is Mahendravarman and not Nārāyaṇavarman, who is recorded to have performed two horse-sacrifices. Secondly, the other records like the text of the Dubi C. P. grant are completely silent about Nārāyaṇavarman's performance of any horse-sacrifice. Thirdly, in V. 31 of the Dubi C. P. grant Mahābhūtiavarman is clearly credited with the performance of a horse-sacrifice. (Cf. *iṣṭvāsau vājimedham* in line 41). This evidence, coupled with one recorded in the Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription, confirms that Mahābhūtiavarman should have the full credit of performing a horse-sacrifice. Non-mentioning of this fact in the seal attached to the Dubi C.P. and the Nālandā seals may be because of paucity of space. It may be presumed that for the sake of economy of space the seals record only the *more important* fact of the performance of *two* horse-sacrifices by Mahendravarman and again by Sthiravarman.

¹⁶ D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX. No. 47, p. 292.

Lexicographical : *Svasti* is translated as 'let there be welfare to all'. Bhattasali translated as 'may success attend'. The word *svasti* (*su-asti*) is a common auspicious expression. It may give slightly different meanings in different contexts. But in most cases it is of the nature of a general benediction or an expression of well-wish to the person or persons to whom the text concerned is addressed. The text of the rock inscription is addressed by the ruler to his subjects and hence, it is more likely that king responsible for the well-being of the subjects would wish welfare to all his subjects who are supposed to read the declaration made in the inscription.

Viṣayāmātya : Bhattasali gives the translation as 'Minister for state'. Sircar takes the expression to mean a 'governor of a district or an *Amātya* in charge of a *Viṣaya* or an *Amātya* under the *Viṣayapati*.' (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 377). For suggesting such a meaning Sircar refers to this very inscription with the words : 'see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX. p. 64'. But we already have the expression *Viṣayapati* to mean a 'governor of a district called *viṣaya*' (*Glossary*, p. 378) and as such the question arises as to why Avaguna also should not have been called a *Viṣayapati* as in the Mallasarul C.P. of Vijayasena (line 4)¹⁷ (first half of the 6th century A.D.) or the Nidhanpur C.P. of Bhāskaravarman (line 49). Hence what appears to be more likely is that the *Viṣayāmātya* was different from a *Viṣayapati*. The *Viṣayāmātya* was a Minister either under the *Viṣayapati* (as suggested by D.C. Sircar as the third alternative) or a Minister directly under the king, who was in charge of one of the *Viṣayas*. On behalf of the king the *āśrama* might have been established by a Minister (*Amātya*) who was immediately below the rank of the king and as such he must have been more than a mere District Governor.

¹⁷ *Select Inscriptions*, p. 373. Meaning of the term *viṣayapati* is given as 'ruler of a district' in the note there.

No. 3. **DUBI COPPER PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN**

(C. First quarter of the 7th Century A.D.)

- Place : Sometimes around 1950 a labourer discovered the plates while digging the earth near a Śiva temple called the *Parisaṛeśvara-devālaya* in the village of Dubi in the Kāmrūp District of Assam, about three miles from the Pathshala railway station on the N. F. Railway.
- References : P. D. Chaudhury, *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4, pp. 33-38 ; Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 16-33 ; D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, No. 47, July 1954 (published in 1957). See also, D. C. Sircar, *Indian Museum Bulletin*, January, 1969.
- Language : Sanskrit. The available 5 plates of the six plates in all contain 76 verses followed by a prose portion giving the names of some of the donees. As we miss the last plate we also miss the usual concluding verses on the merit of *bhūmidāna*.
- Description : The set, now preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati, originally consisted of six plates of which we now have the earlier 5 plates. The original size of each plate was of the order of 9.3" by 4.6". But by the time of recovery all the four sides of each plate have been subject to much corrosion. In the available plates there are altogether 117 lines of writing.
"The plates are strung together on a ring, the two ends of which are secured in a ladle-shaped lump of bronze containing the seal". This seal is being discussed separately below.
- Script : Eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet prevalent in the sixth and seventh centuries with certain remarkable differences from the script of the Nidhanpur C. P. of Bhāskaravarman, thus, also showing that the present plates were earlier by some years than the Nidhanpur C.P. The differences may be also due to the fact that the Nidhanpur grant was inscribed in Kārṇasuvārna, while the Dubi grant was inscribed in Prāgjyotṣapura.
- History : At the time of the discovery, all the six plates were in tact. But soon after the discovery the sixth plate was broken and irrecoverably lost. The remaining five plates were later on brought to the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

P. D. Chaudhury, the then Curator of the said Museum, studied the inscription and published it in the said issues of the *JARS*. Later on, D. C. Sircar, the then Government Epigraphist for India, brought them to his office at Ootacamund and re-examined them with more care and presented an improved reading of the text with certain very valuable observations in the said issue of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Metres :

vv. 1, 13, 22, *Vaṁśasthāvila*, vv. 2, 37, 50-53, 55, 58, 62, 67, 68, 70, 75, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v. 3, *Upajāti* of *Indravajrā* and *Indra-Vaṁśā*, vv. 4, 6, 9, 11, 18, 20, 28, 49, 57, *Upajāti* of *Indravajrā* and *Upeṇḍravajrā*, vv. 5, 15, 40, *Upajāti* of *Indravāṁśā* and *Vaṁśasthāvila*, vv. 7, 8, 10, 12, 17, 25, 27, 29, 32-36, 38, 41-48, 59, 61, 65, *Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 14, 16, 56, *Indravāṁśā*, vv. 19, 26, 30, 76, *Indravajrā*, v. 21, *Upeṇḍravajrā*, v. 23, *Upajāti* of *Upeṇḍravajrā* and *Indravāṁśā*, vv. 31, 66, 69, 73, 74, *Sragdharā*, v. 39 *Upajāti* of *Indravāṁśā* and *Indravajrā*, v. 54, *Mandākrāntā*, vv. 60, 64, *Āryā*, vv. 63, 71, *Vasantatilikā*, v. 72, *Śikhariṇī*. In verse 38 the metre is imperfect.

Dubi Copper Plates of Bhāskaravarman

TEXT

First plate : Inside

1. प्रणम्य देवं शशिशेखरं प्रियं पिनाकिनं भस्मकणैर्विभूषितं । विभूतये भूतिमतां¹⁸
2. सुजन्मनाङ्करो (मि) भूयः स्फुटवाचमुज्ज्वलां ॥ १¹⁹ ॥ येनेयं वसु(धा वराहवपुषा स्थित्यै प्र-)
3. जानां पुरा गुप्तोद्धृत्य दयालुना प्रियतया पोत्ते च संस्थापिता । तस्या (भूत्त)
4. त उत्तमोद्धृतमुजान्तापाय यः शक्तिमान्नाम्नासौ नरकः क्षितौ क्षि-
5. तिभुजान्नाजाधिराजो विभुः ॥ २ ॥ दिग्दन्तिहस्तस्फुटकक्कशेन जित्वा (करे)णाहव-
मूर्ध्नि शकक्रं ।

¹⁸ Almost the whole of the first line is restored in the light of the Nidhanpur C. P. Grant of Bhāsaravarman.

¹⁹ For convenience of reference we present the lines as they are in the original plates. The verse numbrs are not given in the original plates.

6. तन्मातृतो यो (वि)जहार कुण्डले तस्यात्मजः श्रीभगदत्तनामा²⁰ ॥ ३ ॥ नृपात्मजो²¹
वज्रधरप्र-
7. भावः श्रीवज्रदत्तः क्षितिपो महात्मा । अधीत्य चाङ्गाङ्क्षतुरोथ वेदान् वाक्य()
प्रमाणं स(मया)-
8. खिलं यः ॥ ४ ॥ (ज्ञात्वा) गजानां विनयोल्लयकक्रमन्तथा हयानाङ्कु(ल) शील-
सौष्ठवं (देवाद्य-)
9. राचार्यमताञ्च तत्त्वतः स वाजिमेघैरयजन्महर्द्धिभिः ॥ ५ ॥ (तद)न्वये (रा)जस्र
रा(ज-)
10. राजस्स²²मानकोत्तिष्वमरेन्द्रसङ्गः²³ । यातेष्वभूद्भूपतिरिन्द्रकल्पः (श्रीपुण्य)व(म्मा)
खिल-
11. प्रमाथी ॥ ६ ॥ चञ्चलापि यमासाद्य पतिं विष्णुमिवापरं । लक्ष्मीः पा(णिमृहीते)व
साध्वी जा-
12. (ता) निराकुला ॥ ७ ॥ तस्य पुण्योदयोत्थानां कर्मणां किञ्च पश्यथ । फलं
तद्वद्भयज(न्मानो)
13. भुञ्ज(ते) - ७ - ७ - ७ -²⁴ ॥ ८ ॥ [पुण्यानि]²⁵ (कर्मा)णि बहुनि कृत्वा
सुतं च लेभे (सरराज)

Second Plate : Obverse

14. - -²⁶ । शक्त्रेण - - ७ ७ - ७ - -²⁷ यातो नरेन्द्र (खिदि) वौक
(सत्वम्) ॥ ९ ॥ ७ ७²⁸ (नुस्मृत्य) भूपाला विनि-

²⁰ The metre is 3 Indravajrā + 1 Indravamśā.

²¹ There is *trpātmajo*, clearly readable, in the original, and that is surely a scribal error and never a *Prākṛtism*. D. C. Sircar's emendation *tasyātmajo* is not probable for, in that case the error would involve three letters and not one as in *nrpātmajo*.

²² The intended reading is राजसमान . Such undue reduplications in analogy with the reduplication of छ् after short vowels as in तरुच्छाया are very common and they may be treated as a sort of *Prākṛtism*.

²³ Read सङ्ग in place of सङ्गः where the visarga is wrongly put probably in analogy with acc. singular of अहन्. सत्वः, as amended by D. C. Sircar, is not suitable . See notes below.

²⁴ These signs indicate that the gap is to be filled up with five such letters, which would suite the Anuṣṭubh metre.

²⁵ D. C. Sircar has given square brackets in many other places. We have removed them where the reading is almost sure. Only where there is much doubt we have retained the square brackets.

²⁶ We may possibly read कल्पम् here.

²⁷ We may possibly fill up with the words तुल्यः परिपाल्य राज्यं .

²⁸ We may possibly read तम(नुस्मृत्य) .

15. ॐॐॐ-ॐॐ । तस्य (ता) दृगभुद्वादुररिनारीविलापदः ॥ १० ॥ गते तु तस्मिन्निदशेशसख्यमभुन्नरेन्द्र(ः) पितृ
16. (तु) ल्य विक्रमः । प्रख्यातिमान्ज्ञानगुणोदयोर्जितः समुद्रतुल्य(ः) स समुद्र-
वर्मा ॥ ११ ॥ अगाधस्वच्छगम्भीरो
17. व्यालरत्नोपसेवितः महत्वाच्छैत्ययोगाच्च तुल्यो जलधिना नृपः ॥ १२ ॥ चिरं स
भुक्त्वा नृपसङ्घपूजितो गुणान्वितः
18. शत्रुतमोपहो वशो क्षिति समग्रां शु²⁹भरत्नमण्डितां जगाम योगाभिरतस्त्रिविष्टपं ॥ १३ ॥
श्रीदत्तवत्यां प्रथितो म-
19. हावलः श्रोमानभीष्टस्थितिकारणकक्रमात् । धर्मानुगः पार्थिवलक्षणैः श्रितः प्रज्ञा-
गुणैराप नरेन्द्र-
20. तामसौ ॥ १४ ॥ शरान्स सोढा ज्वलनोपमात्रणे जित्वा वलीयान्सवलानपि द्विषः
बुभोज भौ(मान्व-)
21. यमूषणो मही() यतस्ततोभृद्वलवर्मसंज्ञकः ॥ १५ ॥ भुक्त्वा महीङ् (काञ्चन³⁰-)
रत्नभूषितामिष्टा च नैकैः
22. क्रतुभिः सुदक्षिणैः । कृत्वा रिपूणां वल(मानख)ण्डनङ् ध्यानेन यातो दिवमेव
कामद(ः) ॥ १६ ॥ तस्य कल्या-
23. गणेषेण कल्याणचयसंभृतः । कल्याणवर्मा नृपतिर्भूतः कल्याणकारकः ॥ १७ ॥
श्रीरत्नदेवीप्रभ-
24. वो मनस्वी भूतोपकारैरकसप्रवृत्तः । (वृ)त्वारिशक्तिर्निहतारिपक्षाः क्षपाकराकार-
मुखो म(हौजाः) ॥ १८ ॥
25. कर्माणि कृत्वा स शुभानि राजा हत्वा रिपूणां महताङ् (कुलानि) । भुक्त्वा च
भो(गान् छ) कृ (तेह) पात्तान् कालेन
26. श(क्राति)थितां जगा(म) ॥ १९ ॥ × × × × × × × × युग्म(ः) ।

Second Plate : Reverse

27. गणेन्द्रवर्माजनि भूमिनाथो गन्धर्व्ववत्या() तिमिरारि कान्तिः ॥ २० ॥ ग(णे)न्द्र
(तुल्यः) स ग (णे) न्द्र-
28. वर्मा प्रभावयोगातिशयरूपेतः । क्षितिक्षितां क्षारमिव क्षतेषु द्विषां प्रतापाय

²⁹ Original gives गुप्त, a completely wrong word.

³⁰ D. C. Sircar suggests काञ्चन in place of a totally wrong original कुन्ध.

29. सुतं च लेभे ॥ २१ ॥ गुणैः पितेवाभवदेष भूतले क्षिति स भुक्त्वा जनकोपमो वली । जनं समाहू
30. य गुणान्वितं सुतं नियोज्य राज्यन्दिवमेव यातवान् ॥ २२ ॥ स यज्ञदेवीतनयो जितारिर्महेन्द्रव-
31. र्मामरराजविक्रमः । वुभोज राज्य() रजनीकराभः पपौ च सम्यक् स्वष्ट (तामि) व प्रजां ॥ २३ ॥ विजि-
32. त्य गां सागरमेरवलान्तां द्विषः समानीय वशं बलेन । ईजे स राजा कक्रतुभिर्मर्महेन्द्रवच्छ्री
33. सुव्रताञ्चाप शचीमिव प्रियां ॥ २३ ॥ आद्या भूपालमर्यादास्थितिर्दर्शनदर्पणे । तस्मि-
34. (नृ) पेन्द्रचन्द्रे तु देवी कान्तिरिवाश्रिता ॥ २५ ॥ तस्यामदित्यामिव चक्रपाणि-ज्जारायणो मानुषतां प्रप(य) ।
35. तेनैव नास्त्रा कलिजान्निहन्तुं दोषां प्रजाया इव पार्थिवोभुत् ॥ २६ ॥ तस्य देव-मतिर्देवी पत्नीत्वं प्र(त्य-)
36. पद्यत । पद्मा नारायणस्येव श्रीनारायणवर्मणः ॥ २७ ॥ भुक्त्यै प्रजानामिव कार्तिकेयं भूताधिप(:) प-
37. र्वतराजपुत्र्यां । गुणाधिवासो वसति विभूत्या(:) श्रीदेवमत्यामुदपीपदत्सः ॥ २८ ॥ श्रीमहाभूतवर्मणां
38. महाभूतमिवापरं तं ख्यातवलवर्मणांमभ्यसिञ्च मानदः ॥ २९ ॥ भुक्त्वा स भोगान्प्रचुरान्यथेच्छन्द³¹त्व(त)
39. जनेभ्यश्च यथाभिकामं । सौम्योपि राजा भयकृद्रिपूणां योगेन यातः स्वतनुं विहाय ॥ ३० ॥ पितृ सं-
40. प्राप्य राज्यं सुरपतिसदृशः ख्यातवीर्योमितश्री(निर्जि)त्यारातिचक्रं स्वभुजयुग-वलादात्तशस्त्रं स-

Third Plate : Obverse

41. (मस्तम्) । (दे) व्यां विशानवत्यां शशिसमवदनं सूनुमुत्पाद्य धीमानिष्ट्वासौ वाजिमेघन्नरप(ति) रगमच्छक्र(वासं)
42. यशस्वी ॥ ३१ ॥ ततः क्रमाप्तविजयः श्रीमद्रूपेन्द्रभूषितः । श्रीचन्द्रमुखवर्माल्लो वभूव वसुधाधिपः ॥ ३२ ॥

³¹ Read यथेच्छं दत्ता . The nasal is often substituted for the *anusvāra*.

43. स्मरलीलाचलापाङ्गैर्ल्लोचनैः पुरयोषितां । गतवानेकपाञ्चत्वं परस्परजिहृष्यया ॥ ३३ ॥
सिङ्हासन-
44. गतो राजा रराज सवितेव सः । रत्नभाभिः छपटुभिर्नयनानन्दकृतसुधी (:) ॥ ३४ ॥
आनन्दहेतुल्लोकानां स्व(य-)
45. मानन्दितः सुखो । जनयामास तनयं देवीं भोगवतीम्प्रति ॥ स पूर्वोपात्तधर्मेण
विद्याभूतिज-
46. यादिभिः । वर्द्धमानं सुतं दृष्ट्वा राजागात्परमा(') मुदं ॥ ३६ ॥ कृत्वासौ
विधिवद्भुतं वलवतां माना-
47. पभङ्गं द्विषां जित्वा सागरमेखलां वसुमतीमिष्ट्वा च यज्ञैर्मुहुः । दानेनार्थिजनं
48. श्रिया च सुहृदः सन्तोष्य पृथ्वीपतिर्यातः शक्रसलोकतां पृथुवलः संस्थाप्य पुत्रं
क्षितौ ॥ ३७ ॥
49. स पुत्री तेन मुमुदे लोकान्तरगतोपि सन् । रामेणेव पुरा राज्ञा स्वर्गो दशरथो
नृपः ॥ ३८ ॥ कृत्वा यथाव-
50. त्पितृदेवतर्पणं पौरान्स सम्यक्परिसान्त्व्य च प्रभुः । लग्ने(ध्रु)वे सर्व्वगुणोप-
पन्ने सिङ्हासनं सिङ्ह इवा-
51. रुरोह ॥ ३९ ॥ अप्रच्युतं कर्म कृतन्ततो द्विजैर्ध्रुवाभिषेकं (वि)धिवच्च शान्तिकं ।
सशङ्खनादं सह
52. दुन्दुभिः (:)स्वनं सुरेशवत्सोनुवभूव भूमिपः ॥ ४० ॥ तस्य देवकुलोद्यानभवनाराम-
शोभया ।
53. (ति)रस्कृत³² शुनासीरपुरकर्व्वटपट्टने ॥ ४१ ॥ निरस्तस्तेयदुर्भिक्षमरकोपद्रवादिके ।
नित्य य-

Third Plate : Reverse

54. U U U व्यग्रस्वलङ्कृतजनातते ॥ ४१ ॥ x x x x
55. स्कन्धावारे सरित्पतिः ॥ ४२ ॥ नेव वस्तु जगत्सि निहोषमिति यन्मतं । वीत-
(दोषानुवन्धेन)
56. स्वगुणैस्तदपाकृतं ॥ ४४ ॥ वीतरागेण तेनेह सकलङ्का नृपाः कृताः । इन्दुनेव
महीध्राणां गु(हाः)
57. सतमसः कृताः ॥ ४५ ॥ संख्यात(कुल)सारेण सारेण जगतीभृता(') । जगदा-
नन्दचरितैर्द्धात्त्रा कृत इव

³² What is intended is *tiraskṛte*, which agrees better with *karvaṇapattane* in neut. nom. dual number.

58. क्षितौ ॥ ४६ ॥ तत्सङ्गविरहे नृणां मरणं जीवतामपि । सत्सङ्गमो हि विदुषां
भूषा रक्षा च गीयते ॥ ४७ ॥
59. प्रणतानेकसामन्तशिरोमणिशिखारुणौ स्थलपद्मश्रियन्धत्त पादौ यस्य (जि) ता-
60. त्मनः ॥ ४८ ॥ श्रीमान्पुरे श्रीस्थिरवर्मनामा नीत्वा च तस्मिन् कतिचिद्दिनानि ।
सपौरभृत्यैः (सह) व (न्यु -)
61. भिश्च पुण्ये नदे सोथ पुरीमकार्षीत् ॥ ४९ ॥ तस्यारातिकुलारविन्दशशिनो
भौमा (न्वय -)
62. श्लाघिनो नानाशास्त्रपदार्थनिश्चितमतेर्वे (दे) षु चाधीतिनः । प्रख्यातान्वयपौरुष-
63. स्य नृपतेरापन्नवृष्णाच्छिदो देवी श्रीरिव रूपिणी (प्रियतमा) कान्ताभवन्मानिनी ॥ ५० ॥
64. पौलोमिव शतकक्रतोः पशुपते (दुर्गेव शौ) लेन्द्रजा
65. ---UU-U-UUU---U---U- | ---UU-U-U-U
UU---U---U- | ---U

Fourth Plate : Obverse

66. U-U-U विपुलोर्वीव प्रजाजन्मभूः ॥ ५१ ॥ तन्नय्यामग्निरिवाध्व (रेपु)
विपुलो नी (त्वा) U--U-
67. (शास्त्राणा) मिव सम्यगध्ययनतः संस्कारराशिर्महान् । तस्यां सजनसङ्गताविव
परो धर्मा-
68. (नु) भावागमो जातो वङ्गशुरां समुन्नमयितुं पृथ्वीतलाखण्डलः ॥ ५२ ॥
स्कन्देनेव गिरन्द्रजादिति-
69. (रिव) त्रैलोक्यभर्त्रा भृशम् । कृष्णेनेव च देवकी भगवता दैत्यारिणा श्रीमता ।
प्रोत्खाताहितमण्डलेन
70. (वलिना) सम्पूर्णचन्द्रत्विषा सा श्रीसुस्थितवर्मणा गुणवता देवी चि (रं)
नन्दिता ॥ ५३ ॥ याते स्वर्गं पि-
71. (तरि) जगतां भर्त्तरि द्मातलेन्द्रे कालेनेष्टं स्वसुकृतफलं भोक्तुमा ख (ण्ड) लाभे ।
रक्षां पृथ्व्याः पृथुरिव
72. (गुणैः) स्वैरयं संविधत्ते शौर्याकक्रान्तक्षितिपतिशिरोरत्नविद्योतिताङ्घ्रिः ॥ ५४ ॥
येन व्याकर-
73. णादको नयतिमिः साङ्ख्योरुनक्रो महान् (मी) माङ्सावहु (सा) रसानुरसितः^{३३}
स्तर्कानि-
74. लावी (जितः) । व्याख्यानोर्मिपरंपरातिगहनो नायार्थफेनाकुलः^{३३} स्त्रीणो
ज्ञेयसरित्पतिप्रकरणः

^{३३} In both these places the *visarga* is redundant.

75. (छा) तो विशालाकुलः ॥ ५५ ॥ (धीरागमैर्भाषण) मर्थवत्तया शक्तिर्जयेनो-
त्तमवङ्गता श्रिया । दानेन सम्पद्भि-
76. न(येन वीरता) -- U -- U U -- U -- U -- ॥ ५६ ॥ कृतापकारेप्युपकार-
वृत्तो वशी विजेता प्रभुरि-
77. (न्द्रियाणां ।) U -- U -- U U U -- U -- U -- U -- (छरराज) कल्पः ॥ ५७ ॥
येनाकृष्टपर(र) U --
78. U U U -- -- U -- U -- | -- -- U U -- U -- U U U -- -- -- U
भूयसी ।

Fourth Plate : Reverse

79. -- -- U U -- U -- U U U लेनापन्नवृष्णाच्छिदो । वाग्मित्वं पदवाक्य
-- U U U -- -- U -- U -- ॥ ५८ ॥
80. शामिताशेषदुरितं लोकेशमिव शङ्करं । चेतसा भक्तिभूतेन तस्याराद्धं नृशङ्करं ॥ ५९ ॥
तस्य श्री(ध्रुव-)
81. लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीरिव लक्षिता क्षितौ विष्णोः । प्रभविष्णोर्भाष्यार्भूद्भूत्यै आजिष्णु-
चक्रस्य ॥ ६० ॥ (अनेकोरुष्टु)-
82. मद्रत्ननिकरोपरिचारिणी ।³⁴ म्वेलेवोदन्वतस्तस्य साभूद्भूर्त्तुर्महीभुजां ॥ ६१ ॥
तस्यां तस्य महेश्वरस्य वंशि(नो)
83. देवस्य देव्यां शुभौ । शम्भोः स्कन्दविनायकाविव जगत्पूज्यावभूतां सुतौ ।
नानादिग्वनितामुखानि(विज-)
84. यैरन्यैर्गुणानां गणैः सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविवाङ्शुविसरैरुद्भासितानि स्फुटं ॥ ६२ ॥ यत्त्रैतयोः
(प्रथित-)
85. योः सगुणैः पृथिव्यां व्यालक्षितक्षितिपलक्षणयोरिहैक(:) श्रीमानरिदमनेन्द्र इति (प्र-)
86. तो³⁵ भिभोमाकृतिर्युधि सद्दत्त च चन्द्रचारुः ॥ ६३ ॥ श्रीमानरिदमनेन्द्रश्चन्द्रः³⁶
इवाखण्ड-
87. मण्डलो ह्यपरः सज्जनकुमुदानन्दो दुर्जनमनुजाब्जसङ्कोचः ॥ ६४ ॥ सुप्रतिष्ठित-
88. वर्मार्ख्य एकः श्रीमान्स्थथापर(:) श्रीमद्भास्करवर्मार्ख्यो वर्मपद्धतितौ प्रियौ ॥ ६५ ॥
यो ज्ये(ष्टः)

³⁴ Both the *anusvāra* and *m* are redundant.

³⁵ The intended word is most probably प्रशोभि as given by D. C. Sircar.

³⁶ The *visarga* is redundant.

89. भ्रेष्ठवक्त्रः प्रवरकरिकराकारवाहु (मृगाक्षः) सिङ्गहस्कन्ध(:) U — — UU
UUUU — स्तम्भ (वच्चा-)
90. (रु)³⁷रुक्चै(:) चित्तो रूपेण नानाधृतसुभगसुधासारसंपूर्ण — — | — — — —
— —
91. प्रथितपृथुयशः — U — — U — — ॥ ६६ ॥ येना — UU — U — UU — —
— U — — U —

Fifth Plate : Obverse

92. — — — UU — U लोदितशशिप्रस्पधिकान्तित्विषा । स्मृत्युत्तुङ्गितलोचलोचन-
चयस्याग्रे-
93. य(या)वत् क्षितौ चेतोभिन्तिषु चारुपचरितेनात्मात्र चित्तीकृतः ॥ ६७ ॥ यावेतौ
प्रथमे वयस्यपि पृथु प्र-
94. (स्पर्धि) सत्त्वोद्गमौ शक्राङ्गं विधिना प्रगत्य पितरि दमान्तर्जिलीने कक्रमात् ।
प्राप्ते गौडवले व(लि)न्यपि
95. (ज)ले विधम्भसंर(')भतः स्तोक्कैरेव वलाच्युताविव वलैर्यो लीलथोपस्थितौ ॥ ६८ ॥
तत्तोपस्थाय युद्धे
96. (हरि) कुलिशशितैस्तूर्णमाकर्णपूर्णैर्व्वाणैर्व्वाणासुराजावजितभुजवलौ ताविवास-
दप्पौ । गौडा-
97. नां लीलयैव प्रवरकरिघटाः क्रौञ्चशैलावलीवद् बह्वीस्तेषामभेत्तां हतविविधरिपु-
98. (णाञ्च) वाणैर्व्यथा तैः ॥ ६९ ॥ नानासायकशक्तिचक्रकनय(:)³⁸प्रासासि-
घातैः शितैः कृत्वा
99. (व्याकु)लविह्वलं बलमहो तत्तूर्णमेव द्विषां । तिग्मैस्तच्छरतोमरैः सुबहुशरश्लो
हि मो-
100. हङ्गतौ वन्याभिः करिणां घटाभिरहितैर्व्यावेष्ट्य चासादितौ ॥ ७० ॥ देशं स्वकं
विधिवशादुपनीतयोश्च
101. तैः शत्रुभिः खलु ययोर्गुणवत्तयैव । प्राप्य स्वराज्यमचिरात्पुनरागतौ तौ
पितृन् जगद्भूत-
102. मिदन्तु नन(न्दन्तु)श्च ॥ ७१ ॥ (त)तो दे(वे ज्येष्ठे) जनमनसि सेव्ये
विधिवशात्तमस्याक्षिप्याशाः शशभृति यथास्त्वं प्रति गते ।

³⁷ This redundant *rū* is given outside the margin.

³⁸ The *visarga* given in the original is redundant.

103. U तालो ---UUUU---UUU-U--- यैव ज्वलित
उरुम् भास्कर इह ॥ ७२ ॥ देवे श्रीभास्करे
104. -UUUUUU---U---U-----U---UUUUUUU
X³⁹पल्लवे लोकभू (त्यै)

Fifth Plate : Reverse

105. ---U---UUUUUU---U---U (लोत्थं) ---U
---UUUUUU---U भा-
106. सीत्समृद्धये (ः)⁴⁰ ॥ ७३ ॥ नानाशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वश्रुतविततधीयो येन वादित्वमुच्चैस्त-
द्वचालङ्कृतैः स (स्फुट-)
107. ललितपदं सर्व्वमार्गं कवित्वं । येन प्राप्य प्रभाभिः प्रतिहततमसां साधुसंसत्स
सर्व्वं (स्वेच्छा-)
108. घातोच्छ्रितोच्चैर्ज्ञजयजनिता स्वा पताके⁴¹ च दिक्षु (ः)⁴² ॥ ७४ ॥ धर्मः
प्रस्खलितः कलिं पुनरपि प्र (ध्वं-)
109. स्य संरोपितः कीर्त्तिर्दुर्जनवागुरोदरगता मुक्ता मृगीवोज्जिता । लक्ष्मीः क्षीव-
विलास (नीत-)
110. विधिना संस्कृत्य च स्वीकृता भूयो येन महेश्वराश्रयनयः (ः)⁴² स्फायिप्रतापार्चिषा ॥ ७५ ॥
(श्रीभूति-)⁴³
111. वर्ममा प्रददौ द्विजेभ्यो येभ्यः परं शासनमाक्षतन्तत् । भूयः समुज्वा⁴⁴त्य ददौ
तदर्थं (श्रीभा-)
112. स्करः सम्प्रति तेभ्य एव ॥ ७६ ॥ कौशिको वाजसनेयी भट्टमहत्तरः प्रियङ्करघोष-
स्वामी (कौशिको)
113. वाजसनेयी आवसरिको भट्टदेवघोषस्वामी यन्नाड्यपतयः भट्टप्रियङ्कर (घोष-)
114. स्वामी । भट्ट पराशरघोषस्वामी भट्टविष्णुघोषस्वामी भट्टयज्ञघोषस्वामी
115. भट्टरुद्रघो (पस्वामी) भट्टवाजिघोषस्वामी भट्टभ्रुवघोषस्वामी (भट्टभू)म (घो-)
116. पस्वामी दक्षघोषस्वामी श्रेयस्करघोषस्वामी मौद्गल्यो (वृहस्पति) स्वामी माण्ड (व्यो)
117.कौशिकः कभट्टस्वामी (भा) त्वे (यो)

³⁹ Only the ओकार could be read. Hence the X for the lost consonant.

⁴⁰ The visarga given in the original is redundant.

⁴¹ Read पताका.

⁴² The visargas given in the original are redundant.

⁴³ Given in analogy with the Nidhanpur C.P. grant of Bhāskaravarman.

⁴⁴ That in समुज्ज्वात्य the reduplication is avoided is a Prākṛitism.

TRANSLATION

(With due improvements on the first English translation by P. D. Chaudhury, *J.A.R.S.* Vol. XII. Nos. 1 & 2.

Having saluted the God, who wears the moon as the crest jewel, who is lovely, who holds the piṇāka bow and who is decorated with particles of ashes, I once again clarify the wellknown words for the benefit of the prosperous brāhmaṇas.⁴⁵ (1)

One who, in the days of yore, in the form of a boer out of compunction recovered the lost Earth for the stability of the people and put the same in his mouth, begot a superior son, Naraka by name, who was powerful enough even to torment the ambrosia-drinking gods and who was all powerful on earth being the king of kings (2).

(This Naraka), who with his arm, as prominent and as hard as the trunk of a quarter-elephant, defeated Indra in the forefront of a battle-field and snatched away the ear-rings from his mother, had a son named Śrī Bhagadatta. (3)

The son of this king (Bhagadatta) was the great-souled king Śrī Vajradatta, who was as powerful as Indra, the holder of the bolt. Having studied the four *Vedas* along with the *Āṅgas* (anchillery lores) and the grammar and the logic entirely within one year and having acquired the knowledge of subduing and training up the elephants and learning also all about the breed, nature and excellence of horses and the views of the preceptors of the *devas* and *asuras* respectively (i.e., the *Nītiśāstras* of Bṛhaspati and Śukra) up to their very essence, he performed a number of horse-sacrifices with his riches (4-5).

In that very family Śrī Puṣyavarmā, who was like Indra and was the destroyer of the enemy-soldiers, became the king after the retirement to the abode of Indra (i.e., after death) of the kings whose fame was similar to the (lustre of the) moon. (6).

Lakṣmī (the goddess of fortune), though fickle (by nature) became as steady as a duly married chaste wife after having found a master in him, who was another Viṣṇu, as it were. (7)

Do you not notice that the fruit of the pious deeds performed by him is (indeed) enjoyed by the progeny of his family (through all the ages) (8).

After having performed many a pious deed he obtained a son (who was similar to the king of gods). Then the king, who was like Indra, also (after ruling the country) (attained the state of a god himself.) (9).

⁴⁵ In the translation the original line is broken into verses.

His arms were responsible for causing bewailings of the wives of the enemies in such a way that the kings after having a recollection of (him) (10)

When he retired to attain the state of a friend of Indra, his son, who was similar to his father in prowess, became the king. He was Samudravarmā, similar to an ocean, famous and illustrious with an excess of knowledge and qualities. (11)

The king was comparable to the ocean for his greatness and coolness, and also because of his depth, clarity, gravity and because of being associated with *vyālas* (i.e., *bhujāṅgas* or fashionable young man or snakes) and because of being decorated with jewels (like the ocean, the repository of jewels.) (12)

He, who was, adored by the host of kings, and endowed with qualities, and the dispeller of darkness in the form of enemies, and capable of subduing others, retired to the heaven with the help of yoga, after having enjoyed for long the whole earth, endowed with auspicious jewels. (13)

The son, who was born to him from the side of Śrī Dattavatī, who was firm, possessed of great strength, good looking, pious and endowed with the traits of a king, became the king by virtue of the quality of his intellect for the purpose of obtaining the most desired stability (of the royal family). (14)

Having endured the fire like arrows in the battle-field and having defeated the enemies accompanied by large armies this strong man, the ornament of the Bhauma-dynasty enjoyed the world and as such was known as Balavarmā. (15)

This fulfiller of wishes retired to the heaven itself with the help of meditation after having enjoyed the earth embellished with gold and jewels and also having performed several sacrifices accompanied by gifts and having destroyed the power and pride of the enemies. (16)

With the remainder of the merits of his good deeds Kalyāṇavarmā, who was endowed with an accumulation of merits and who was the performer of good deeds became the king. (17)

Born of Śrī Ratnadevī, the wise king (Kalyāṇavarmā), who indulged in the only pleasure of doing good to others, who was equal in strength to Indra, who was the killer of the enemy and who had a moon-like face and was possessed of great strength, retired in course of time to become the guest of Indra, after having performed a number of auspicious deeds and having killed huge hosts of enemies and also having enjoyed pleasures produced by his own good deeds. (18-19)

. . . . In Gandharvavatī was born the king (i.e., the master of the earth) Gaṇendravarmā, who was similar in lusture to the sun (i.e., the enemy of darkness). (20)

This Gaṇendravarmā, who was similar to Gaṇendra (i.e., Gaṇeśa) and endowed with an excess of prowess had a son who was born for the purpose of tormenting the enemies and was, as it were, a lump of alkali to the wound of the kings (i.e., was capable of adding further injuries to the already injured kings). (21)

This son was similar in his qualities to his father (of all the persons) in the world. The father who was as powerful as Janaka after having duly enjoyed the earth, gathered an assembly of people, placed the kingdom in the hands of his accomplished son and retired to the heaven. (22)

He, the son of Yajñadevī, Mahendravarmā by name, who was the vanquisher of the enemy and similar to the king of gods in valour and similar to the moon in lusture, enjoyed the kingdom and protected his subjects like his own progeny duly. (23)

Having conquered the earth with the ocean as the girdle and subduing the enemy through power, the king performed a number of sacrifices like the great Indra and also got a Śacī-like consort in Suvratā. (24)

In the mirror of the king's look (for beauty) she stood as the epitome of the foremost limit of beauty, (or so far as the mirror of intelligence of the king is concerned, she shone therein as an epitome of the foremost limit of good conduct of the king) and on her own part she was so devoted to the king that she shone like a constant lusture in a moon in the form of that king. (25)

In her, who was like Aditi, Nārāyaṇa, the holder of the *cakra*, was born with a human form and became a king with the same name (Nārāyaṇa) with a view to dispelling the demerits of the subjects. (26)

Queen Devamatī attained the status of a wife of this very Śrī Nārāyaṇavarmā like Padmā assuming the same status in respect of (god) Nārāyaṇa. (27)

Then he (Nārāyaṇavarmā), who was a seat of good qualities, like the Lord of the Bhūtas (i.e., Śiva) causing the birth of Kārttikeya in the daughter of the king of mountains (i.e. Pārvatī) for the prosperity of the subjects caused in Śrī Devamatī the birth of Śrī Mahābhūtavarmā, who was a repository of supernal abilities (*vibhūti*), an another great element (*mahābhūta*), as it were, and finally, he, the destroyer of the vanity of enemies, also installed this Mahābhūta, famous for his armour in the form of physical strength, as the king. (28-29)

Having enjoyed most heartily plenty of objects of enjoyment and giving gifts to the people up to their best desire, the king, who was though amiable yet terrible to the enemies, went away leaving behind his corporeal frame with the help of yoga. (30)

Then this illustrious king, who was like the king of gods, famous for his valour, extremely lovely and intelligent, after having received the (kingship of the) paternal kingdom, having defeated, with the help of the prowess of the couple of his own arms, all the enemies duly equipped with weapons, having caused the birth of a son of moon-like face in queen Vijñānavatī, and having performed a horse-sacrifice, retired to the abode of Indra. (31)

Then with the attainment of victory in due order, Śrī Candramukhavarmā, embellished by a circle of prosperous chiefs of kings, became the lord of the world (i.e., became the king). (32)

He became the solitary object of attention of the mutually vying eyes of the city damsels, which had their sides quivering with the play of cupid. (33)

While on the throne, this king of superior intellect shone like the sun with the rays of skillfully placed jewels, which could cause delight. (34)

This source of the delight of the people who was himself delighted and happy gave birth to a son in the queen Bhogavatī. (35)

By virtue of his previously accumulated merits, the monarch had been exceedingly delighted to see his son prospering with such things as learning, wealth and victory. (36)

This largely mighty lord of the world (i.e., the king, Candramukhavarmā) after having duly caused the wailing of the strong (antagonists) and damage of the pride of his enemies, having conquered the earth with the ocean as her girdle, having performed sacrifices frequently, and gratifying the supplicants with gifts and friends with fortune established his son in the charge of the earth and retired to the same abode as that of Indra. (37)

This father could have delight from his son even after his departure to the other world like king Daśaratha, dwelling in heaven, having delight from king Rāma in the ancient time. (38)

And the son, who now became the master (in his own turn) after duly paying oblations to the father who had become a god, and after giving consolations to the citizens, duly ascended the throne like a lion, in the all auspicious time-juncture marked by Dhruva. (39)

Then the brahmins performed sacerdotal deed in flawless manner and performed the unfailing (*dhruva*) coronation ceremony and also peace-gaining auspicious deeds, alongwith the sound of the conch-shell and the *dunaubhi*-drum and the king enjoyed it all like the lord of the gods (i.e., Indra). (40)

The beauty of bowers and houses of the park attached to the temple of his gods surpassed the market place and the township of the city of Indra. (41)

The 'lord of the river' (used to dwell) in the royal capital, which was crowded with beautifully embellished people always busy in and which was devoid of theft, famine, epidemic and oppression, etc. (42-43)

"There is indeed not a single thing in the world which can be acknowledged as absolutely free from fault" —this (saying) had been caused to disappear with his own qualities by (this king) who had been free from any association with faults. (44)

Himself being devoid of attachments, the king caused all other kings to wear spots like the moon, which causes the caves of the mountains to be dark. (45)

The creator, who has the disposition to please the worlds, created him with the essence of the past lords of the world and the essence of the famous (royal) families. (46)

It is a death to even the living beings when they are devoid of his company; for, it is said that the company of the good is both an embellishment and a protection. (47)

He was a man of restrain and his feet, red with the rays of the crest jewels of many a prostrating vassel king assumed the beauty of two land-lotuses. (48)

The illustrious (king) named Śrī Sthiravarmā after spending some days in the old city (*tasmīn pure*) built up a new city on the bank of the holy river (i.e., Brahmaputra) along with the citizens, the servants and also the relatives. (49)

The king who was a moon to the lotus-like host of enemies and the very pride of the Bhauma-family and who had a clear conception of the purport of various śāstras (lores) and also thorough study of the vedas, possessed of a renowned lineage and prowess, and who could remove the wants of the persons taking shelter from him, had a queen as beautiful as Śrī (i.e., Lakshmī), beloved, and dear to himself and endowed with pride. (50)

To him she was like Paulomī (Śacī) to Indra and Durgā, the daughter of the mountain to Paśupati (i.e., Śiva) and like the large earth she was the mother of (the birth place of) a line of progeny. (51)

To her was born the Indra of the earth (i.e., a son) for holding up the fulcrum of the family, like the huge fire having its origin from the three (Vedas) in the sacrifices, like great accumulation of merit originating from the proper study of śāstras and like the birth of the realisation of the supreme virtues from the association of the good men. (52)

The queen had always been exceedingly delighted by Śrī Susthitavarmā, who was full of good qualities and possessed of a lustre like that of the full moon and powerful and responsible for the uprooting of the host of enemies, like the daughter of the king of mountains (i.e., Pārvati) by Skanda (i.e., Kārttikeya), like Aditi by the protector of the three worlds (i.e., Viṣṇu) and like Devakī by the illustrious lord Kṛishṇa, the enemy of the demons. (53)

His father, the master of the world, similar to Indra, the Indra of earth, having gone to the heaven, in due course of time, to enjoy the desirable fruit of his noble deeds, he (i.e. Susthitavarmā) whose feet were illumined by the crest-jewels of the kings, brought under his control with valour, and assumed the protection of, the world with his own qualities, like king Pṛithu. (54)

He swam across the large and very deep ocean of the subjects of studies, perturbed by huge currents, having waters in the form of grammar, sharks (*timī*) in the form of polity, alligators in the form of *Sāṃkhya*, resonant with the chirping of the cranes (*sārasas*) in the form of *Mīmāṃsā*, fanned on all sides by the wind in the form of Logic, full of the series of waves in the form of explanations and covered by the foams in the form of *Nyāya*. (55)

(In his case) intellect was (accompanied) by a learning of śāstras, speeches by meaningfulness, power by victory, high birth by wealth, courage by justice (56)

(This king) who was like the king of the gods - - - - - was bent on doing good even to one who had done harm, a man of restraint, victorious and a master of his senses. (57)

By whom was dragged - - - - - of him who was the destroyer of wants of those who take shelter - - - - - eloquence - - - (58)

With a heart full of devotion (he used to pay homage?) to Śaṃkara, (i.e., God Śiva) the object of his worship, who removes all the

ills like Viṣṇu (i.e., *Lokeśa*), as it were, and who does good to men (*nṛ + śam + karam*). (59)⁴⁶

This powerful king had a wife named Śrī Dhruva-lakṣmī, who was there to bring prosperity to the people like the goddess Lakṣmī of Viṣṇu, the holder of the dazzling discus, appearing to have come down to the earth. (60)

She, who used to tread over lumps of plenty of large and dazzling jewels, was to her husband, the king, like the shore to the ocean. (61)

He, the great lord, the self-controlled, the king, had two blessed sons born of the queen, like Skanda (i.e., Kārttikeya) and Vināyaka (i.e., Gaṇeśa) of Śīva, who were adorable to the whole world, who with their victory (?) and a host of other qualities very distinctly illumined the faces of the maidens in the forms of several quarters like the sun and the moon with the wide expanse of rays. (62)

Of the two sons, endowed with royal qualities, manifest on this earth through merits, one illustrious son was named Aridamanendra, who was both good-looking and of awful countenance in the battle-field and was as amiable as the moon to the friends. (63)

The illustrious Aridamanendra was like another full moon since he was a delight to the lily in the form of good men and the closing of petals to the lotus in the form of wicked men. (64)

Thus, one was Suprathisthitavarmā and the other illustrious one was named Śrī Bhāskaravarmā, and both of them were dear to the line of the Varmans. (65)

The elder one was endowed with the best face (i.e., most beautiful), arms as large as the trunk of the best elephants, was gazelle-eyed and lion-shouldered - - - - - was as tall and beautiful as a pillar, attractive with beauty, was full with the agreeable essence of the ambrosia of varied learning - - - - - was of wide and well established fame - - - - (66)

He of a lustre that vies with the lusture of the moon . . . has painted his own self in the walls in the shape of the mind of the people, with the help of his beautiful record of life, all over the earth, in front of the host of the eyes of the people now aided by their memory, to be recalled by men even to-day. (67)

The father having disappeared in the other world (i.e., heaven) for mingling up with the person of Indra, and the army of the Gaudas,

⁴⁶ This verse seems to be in conjunction with the earlier verse as one sentence. Yet I have preferred to present a tentative translation, taking it separately.

very powerful in the water, having gradually arrived, the two sons, though they were only in their youth, but yet endowed with the growth of a large and challenging valour, appeared on the spot with all ease, even with a handful of soldiers like Bala (i.e., Balarāma) and Acyuta (i.e., Kṛṣṇa), (68)

Then having arrived at the battle-field like those two (i.e., Bala and Acyuta) in the battle of Bāna-Asura, the two brothers endowed with vanity and unconquerable strength of the arms, pierced elegantly the foreheads of a large number of very mighty elephants, belonging to the Gaudas, who also killed a number of their own enemies, in the manner of (Kārttikeya) piercing the Krauñca hill, with arrows as sharp as the bolt of Indra and drawn as far as their ears. (69)

They having rendered the army of the enemy terrified and weak immediately with the striking of the various types of weapons like arrows, *śaktis*, wheels, *prāsas* and swords, were themselves taken captives after being encircled by hosts of wild and ferocious elephants at a moment when they became senseless being covered by a large number of sharp arrows and *tomaras*. (70)

Through misfortune they have been taken by those enemies to their own country; but, indeed, because of their being endowed with good qualities they (the two brothers) have once again been brought back to their own land and thus coming back once again they delighted their paternal country exceedingly. (71)

Then at the bidding of Fate the elder prince (i.e. king) departed like the moon setting down to plunge the directions in darkness - - - - (and the mantle fell on the younger prince Bhāskaravarmā who was like) the sun (Bhāskara) possessed of huge lustre. (72)

King Bhāskara (having assumed the monarchy - - - - - for the prosperity of the world - - - - -) was for prosperity . . . (73)

He had planted very high the banner of his victory, raised up by deliberate strikes, in different directions after having acquired, with the darkness-dispelling rays of his intellect in the assemblies of the noble men, all (virtues) like the argumentative capacity of one whose intellect has matured by learning the essence of the meaning of various *śāstras* and the faculty of a poet as evidenced by the compositions of various styles endowed with elegant and perspicuous words and various types of figures. (74)

He, the rays of whose valour had become far-reaching on the strength of the (knowledge of) polity accruing out of taking shelter from Śiva (Maheśvara), once again re-established the dislodged virtue by completely destroying (the faults of) the Kali age, restored glory from the

clutches of the wicked like a deer from the trap, and accepted Fortune as his own after due rectification after she had been a victim to the intoxicating influence of luxury. (75)

Śrī Bhūtivarmā presented a charter to certain brāhmins and that has become worn out on all sides. Śrī Bhāskara is now presenting this charter for the same purpose to those very brāhmins after once again brightening up the text. (76)

Bhaṭṭamahattara Priyaṅkaraghoṣasvāmin, a follower of the Vājasaneyī (*carāṇa* of the *Yajurveda*) belonging to the Kauśika gotra, *Āvasarika* Bhaṭṭadevaghoṣasvāmin, a follower of the Vājasaneyī *carāṇa* and belonging to the Kauśika gotra, where the share-holders are Bhaṭṭapriyaṅkaraghoṣa-svāmin, Bhaṭṭaparāśaraghoṣasvāmin, Bhaṭṭaviṣṇughoṣasvāmin, Bhaṭṭyajñaghoṣa-svāmin, Bhaṭṭarudraghoṣa-svāmin, Bhaṭṭavājighoṣasvāmin, Bhaṭṭadhruvaghoṣasvāmin, Bhaṭṭabhūmaghoṣasvāmin, Dakṣaghoṣasvāmin, Śreyaskaraghaṣasvāmin, Bṛhaspatisvāmin of Maudgalya gotra, - - - - of Māṇḍavya gotra, Kabhaṭṭasvāmin of Kauśikagotra, - - - - of Ātreya gotra - - - .

NOTES

Orthographical :

Certain consonants including *s'* and *ṣ* are frequently reduplicated when followed or preceded by *r*. Certain consonants followed by *y* are also reduplicated. Final *m*, often before *ś* and *h* are given as *n̄*. *bhujām+rājā* (1. 5) is given as *bhujānrājā*. At the end of 2nd and 4th feet of verses *m* is invariably given as *anusvāra*. In many cases it has been changed to the *nasal* letter corresponding to the following consonant. Though we have shown distinctly in the text reproduced here, in the original, no distinction is made between *ṣ* and *s*. No distinction is maintained also between *b* and *v* in the original. Apart from the few obvious scribal errors, other apparent corruptions may be treated as Prākṛitism.

General :

(1) This is the earliest of all the copper plates issued by the kings of ancient Assam discovered so far.

(2) The impartiality and the historical authenticity of the record is notable in so far as the author unhesitatingly puts in record an incident of an earlier discomfiture of the patron king Bhāskara in the hands of the Gaudas.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 20. According to P. C. Choudhury, this has a reference to a second invasion by Mahāsenagupta, which took place earlier than 593-94. (See *HCPA*, p. 162 f.)

(3) The charter was earlier granted by a king whose name cannot be read in the plates but yet the name is conjectured as Bhūtivarmā in analogy with the Nidhanpur C.P. The earlier plates were damaged (*ākṣata*) on all sides (*ā=samantāt*), and hence were re-issued by Bhāskaravarmā.

(4) The description of the land is not found because of the loss of the last of the six plates.

(5) The Dubi C.P. has to be tentatively assigned to the earlier part of Bhāskaravarman's reign. (vide, Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX. No. 47 p. 297.)

Particular :

- V. 1. is the same as V. 1 in the Nidhanpur C.P.
- V. 3. For the story of snatching away the ear-rings of Indra's mother Cf. V. 3 of Tezpur C.P. of Vanamāla, etc. For legendary sources see Introduction.
- V. 5. *devāsuraścāryamaṭāñca* refers to Brhaspati and Śukra, the two ancient authorities, propounding two distinct schools of the ancient Indian polity, viz. the schools of the *devas* and the *asuras*. Cf. *suraguruivāparaḥ*, in Nidhanpur C.P. 1. 42 and the Bhūmidāna verse in the same C.P., (i.e., *svadattām paradattām vā*, etc.), which seems to have been quoted from the *Brhaspatisaṃhitā* (V. 28). This shows that both the schools were studied in ancient Kāmarūpa.
- V. 6. *Amarendrasattava* (1. 10) as given as an emendation by D. C. Sircar will have the same meaning *indrakalpaḥ* (1.10) leading to an undesirable tautology. The original *sadmah*, where the *visarga* is wrongly put, in analogy with the accusitive singular of *ahan*, will give the intended and more desirable meaning of the king having retired to the home of Indra (i.e., expired).
- V. 9. D. C. Sircar emends as *tridīrvaukasānām*. But the context seems to require *tridivaukasatvam*, which is also suitable to the metre.
- V. 12. The word *vyāla*, meaning snakes (belonging to the ocean), on one hand and passionate or fashionable men (i.e., *bhujaṅga*) on the other seem to have a pun, a rare thing for the present C.P., but a common feature of the Nidhanpur C.P. While *upamā* is common to almost all the verses, here we have a *pūrṇopamā*.

- Y. 17. In this verse we have a *lāṭānuprāsa*.
- V. 18. This verse, describing the valour of Kalyāṇavarman, presents a very clear case of the *ojaḥ* quality, for which the repetition of *kṣa* is very helpful and the final word *mahaojāḥ* also nicely suggests the presence of *ojaḥ* in this verse.
- V. 20. *Ojaḥ* is present as in V. 18. Notice the alliteration of *kṣa*.
- V. 26. The idea of the divine origin of kingship underlies the content of the verse. Cf. V. 14 of Nidhanpur C.P. for the suggestion of the same idea.
- V. 29. There is *utprekṣā* in the first half. Cf. V. 14 of Nidhanpur C.P.
- V. 30. In '*saumyo*' *pi bhayakṛd*'—there is a *virodhābhbhāsa alaṃkāra*.
- V. 31. The reference to the performance of a horse-sacrifice (*vājīmedha*) by king Bhūtiavarman confirms the record of the Bargangā Rock Inscription that he was a performer of horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedhayājīn*).
- V. 33. There is *anuprāsa* in the first half and there is a suggested *utprekṣā* in *paraspara jīhṛṣayā* (iva).
- V. 40. *Dhruvābhīṣekam* seems to be a coronation whereby the anointed king is entitled to have king's fixed grain share. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 96.
- V. 47. Contains an *arthāntaranyāsa alaṃkāra*.
- V. 48. In the second half there is a simple *upamā* according to the older school of Daṇḍin and others, but an *asambhavadvastusambandharūpā atīśayokti*, according to later theorists like Viśvanāthakavirāja.
- V. 49. This verse refers the act of abandoning the old capital city and building of a new metropolis on the bank of the holy river. The holy river seems to be none other than the Brahmaputra and the site of the city must have been located in the present Gauhati region. The older city is not given by name. The author took the older city already to be very familiar to the readers of the record and hence refers to the same with the word '*tat*' which is said to be competent to refer to a familiar

object, i.e., *prasiddhaparāmarśaka*, under particular circumstances. The older city might have been Prāgjyotiṣa, which remained the capital since the days of Naraka, as referred to in later epigraphical records. (see Dimbeswar Neog, *Pre-historic and Historic Assam*, pp. 125 f.). The ancient city stood on the south-eastern slope of the Narakāsur hill near Dispur, the site of the present capital of Assam and included the area of a village which is even now known as Jatiyā. Sthiravarman probably extended the city up to the bank of the river Brahmaputra. (see also P. C. Choudhury, *HCPA*, p. 27n. 19a, and p. 156). It is to be noted that Sthiravarman is a synonym for Sthitavarman or Sthitivarman.

- V. 50. In the first quarter there is a *paramparita rūpaka*.
- V. 55. presents a *sāṅga rūpaka*.
- V. 63. In between the emended *viṣayaiḥ* and *anyair guṇānām gaṇaiḥ* ordinarily a *ca* is anticipated. But the idea of *samuccaya* (i.e., conjunction) is often conveyed even without the necessary *cakāra* as in the celebrated verse of *Mahābhāṣya*,
aharaharhayamāno gāmas'vaṁ puruṣam paśuṁ
vaivasvato na tṛpyati surayā iva durmadī,—given under the rule, *cārthe dvandvaḥ*. Vide. Abhinavagupta's *Locana* commentary in *Dhvanyāloka*, Uddyota I, (under the prose *Vṛtti on suribhiḥ kathitaḥ* of *kārikā* I. 13.)
- V. 64. In the first half there is an *atiśayakti* and in the second half there is a *visama alamkāra* and a fault of tautology in *durjanamanuja*. Aridamanendra is just another name for Supratisthitavarman, referred to in the following verse. (i.e., v. 65).
- V. 69. *Krauñcaśailāvali*: Skanda and Paraśurāma were learning archery from Śiva. Paraśurāma for establishing his superiority over his colleague Skanda pierced the Krauñca hill with a sharp arrow, causing a hole in it known as *Krauñcarandhra*. Cf. *Meghadūta* (pūrva megha V. 58.).
- V. 71. In the verses 68 to 71 we have the reference to a fact of great historical significance that immediately after the death of their father Susthitavarman, when Supratishitarman and Bhāskaravarman were mere boys (*prathame vayasypati*), the Gauḍas attacked Kāmarūpa and the two

brothers were taken away to the land of Gauḍas as captives. But finally the Gauḍas were pleased to release the two brothers because of their bieng endowed with good qualities.

- V. 72. Here we have a reference to the premature death of Supratisthitavarman. Cf. Verses 20, 21, in the Nidhanpur C.P. In verse 20 of the Nidhanpur C.P. also he is compared to a moon.
- V. 74. The expressions—*alamkṛtaiḥ*, *lalitapadam* and *sarvamārgam* show that *alamkāraśāstra* was thoroughly studied in this region and the expression *lalitapadam* shows that there was a clear conception of *padalālitya*. (For an explanation of the term *padalālitya* see my article 'The three qualities of Māgha' in the *Professor Brinchi Kumar Barua Commemoration Volume*, ed. by Maheswar Neog and Mukunda Madhava Sharma). The term *sarvamārgam* tends to indicate that the author of the C.P. was familiar with the *Kāvyaḍarśa* of Daṇḍin from whom we learn about *mārgas* for the first time, though the gap in time in between Daṇḍin and the author of the C.P. must have been very small.
- V. 75. In '*kirtidurjaṇavāgurodaragatā muktivā mrgivojjhitā*' the imagery is very rich. The deer once released from the trap would jump away and hurriedly run away to a very long distance. Likewise Bhāskara also caused the royal glory of Kāmarūpa to travel to very great distances within a short span of time.
- V. 112. *Bhaṭṭamahattara* : Bhaṭṭa is a title of respect attached to the names of brahmins. Bhaṭṭamahattara is a senior Bhaṭṭa or a leading Bhaṭṭa. D. C. Sircar refers to this very use in *Glossary* p. 51. By the addition of *mahattara*, Priyaṅkara of line 112 is distinguished from Priyaṅkara of line 113, who must have been junior to the former.

SEAL ATTACHED TO THE DUBI C. P. OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN

Description :

A laddle-shaped lump of bronze containing the seal has been discovered attached to the bundle of Dubi copper plates.

"The surface of the seal is oval, its diameter being 3.4" lengthwise and 3.1" breadthwise. On the upper part of it is countersunk the figure of an elephant to front. About two-thirds of the seal below this royal emblem is covered by the legend in 11 lines, there being a straight line demarcating the figure of the elephant and the legend". (Sircar)

TEXT

1. श्रीमान्नरकतनयो भगदत्तवज्रदत्तान्वयो महाराजा
2. धिराज श्रीप्रागज्योतिषेन्द्रपुण्यवर्म्मा तत्पुत्रो महाराजाधिरा
3. जश्रीसमुद्रवर्म्मा तस्य तनयो दत्तदेव्यां महाराजाधिराज
4. श्रीवलवर्म्मा तेन जातो देव्यां श्रीरत्नवत्यां महाराजाधिराज
5. श्रीकल्याणवर्म्मा श्रीगन्धर्व्ववत्यां श्रीगणपतिवर्म्मा श्री य
6. जवत्यां श्रीमहेन्द्रो द्विस्तुरगमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारा
7. यणवर्म्मा श्रीदेवमत्यां श्रीभूतिवर्म्मा श्रीविज्ञानवत्यां श्री
8. चन्द्रमुखवर्म्मा श्रीभोगवत्यां द्विरश्वमेधया
9. जी श्रीस्थिरवर्म्मा तेन श्रोनयनायां श्री
10. सुस्थितवर्म्मा तेन श्रीध्रुवलक्ष्म्यां
11. श्रीभास्कर वर्म्मैति

TRANSLATION

The great king of kings Sri *Puṣyavarmā*, the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, a grand son of the illustrious *Naraka* and belonging to the family of *Bhagaḍatta* and *Vajradatta*. His son was the king of kings *Śrī Samudravarmā*. His son from *Dattadevī* was the king of kings *Śrī Balavarmā*, from him was born in queen *Śrī Ratnavatī* the king of kings *Śrī Kalyāṇavarmā*. (His son) from *Śrī Gandharvavatī* was *Śrī Gaṇapati-varmā*. (His son) from *Śrī Yajñavatī* was *Śrī Mahendra*, the performer of two horse-sacrifices. (His son born) from *Śrī Subratā* was *Śrī Nārāyaṇa varmā*. (His son born) from *Śrī Devamatī* was *Śrī Bhūti-varmā*. (His son born) from *Śrī Vijñānavatī* was *Śrī Candramukhavarmā*. (His son born) from *Śrī Bhogavatī* was *Śrī Sthiravarmā*, the performer of two horse-sacrifices. From him was born *Śrī Susthitavarmā* in *Śrī Nayanā*. From him was born *Śrī Bhāskaravarmā* in *Śrī Dhruvalakṣmī*.

NOTES

General :

The figure of an elephant is invariably present in all the available seals attached to the C.P. grants of the Kāmarūpa kings. We have a broken seal attached to the Nidhanpur C.P. grant of Bhāskaravarman. The seals attached to certain other grants are available to us in almost perfect condition and those grants are—The Tezpur and the Parbatiyā grants of Vanamāla; the Uttarbarbil and the Nowgong grants of Balavarman III; the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla; the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla; and the Khanāmukh grant of Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa. "As the tiger was to the Colas, the bear to the Calukyas, the bull to the Pallavas, so the elephant was the natural symbol of Kāmarūpa" (B. K. Barua, *A cultural History of Assam*, P. 63) For a detailed discussion about the various technical aspects of the seal, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, P. 150 ff. For the importance of elephants in the cultural life of ancient Assam, see B. K. Barua *Loc. cit.* (p. 63)

Genealogy :

The genealogy agrees generally with the genealogy supplied by the Nidhanpur C.P., the Nalanda seals of Bhāskaravarman, and the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. The few differences in names are obvious and may be explained as because of

- (i) metrical necessity,
- (ii) want of space as in a seal with limited scope, and
- (iii) a general tendency for substituting the names with synonyms. (See general notes, under the Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman). We are presenting below the text of the Nālanda seals and the relevant portion of the *Harṣacarita* as they are frequently referred to in connection with the genealogy of Kāmarūpa kings.

THE NALANDA CLAY SEALS OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN

History : Fragments of a clay seal of Bhāskaravarman were found by Dr. Spooner during the excavation of the ruin in site No. 1 of Nālandā in the year 1917-18. Some more fragmentary clay seals were discovered from Monastery No. 1 of Nālandā in 1927-28. The 1917-18 seals supply us the genealogy of the Kāmarūpa kings up to Bhāskaravarman, partially, from Gaṇapatiavarman. Two fragments of the 1927-28 finds belong to the same seal and supply the genealogy in a more complete form. Here we are presenting the text of the 1927-28 seals with emendations within square brackets. The words that we have in 1917-18 seals and not in 1927-28 seals are given in the footnotes.

References : For 1917-18 seals—Diksīt, A.R.A.S.I., E.C., 1917-18, p. 45 ; Banerji, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V. pp. 302-3 ; Diksīt.—*Ibid*, VI, pp. 151-152 ; K. L. Barua,—EHK, pp. 64-65 (2nd edn.) ; For 1927-28 seals, K. L. Barua, J.A.R.S., Vol. III No. 2, 1935 and, J.A.R.S. Vol. IV. No. 4, 1937 ; H. N. Shastri, *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66.

TEXT

(As given by K. L. Barua in *JARS*. Vol. IV. No. 4.)

1. [श्री] मान्नरकतनयो भगदत्तवज्रदत्तान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषे
2. न्द्रः पुण्यवर्मा तत्पुत्रो महाराजाधिराजः श्रीसमुद्रवर्मा तस्य तनयो दत्तवत्यां
[समुत्पन्नः]
3. महाराजाधिराजश्रीवलवर्मा तेन जातो देव्यां श्रीरत्नवत्यां महाराजाधिरा
4. जश्रीकल्याणवर्मा श्रीगन्धर्ववत्यां श्रीगणपतिवर्मा श्रीयज्ञवत्यां श्रीमहे
5. न्द्रवर्मा द्विस्तुरगमेधाहर्ता श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारायणवर्मा श्रीदे
6. वमत्यां श्रीभूतिवर्मा⁴⁸ श्रीविज्ञानवत्यां श्रीचन्द्रमुखवर्मा श्रीभो
7. गवत्यां द्विश्रमेधयाजी श्रीस्थिरवर्मा तेन श्रीनयनशोभायां
8. [श्री] सुस्थि[र]वर्मा तेन श्री [ध्रुवलद्व्यां]⁴⁹ श्रीसुप्रतिष्ठित⁵⁰
9. [वर्मे]ति

⁴⁸ 1917-18 seals give *Śrīmahābhūtiwarmā*.

⁴⁹ For 1917-18 seals Diksīt suggests (श्रीश्यामलद्व्यां)

⁵⁰ 1917-18 seals give after this वर्मे श्रीमास्करवर्मेति

TRANSLATION

The translation is almost the same as in the seal attached to Dubi C. P. grant.

NOTES

For a comparison with the genealogy supplied by the seals of Bhāskaravarman it is deemed fit to present the relevant words from the message delivered by Hamsavega to Emperor Harṣavardhana in the seventh chapter of the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, as the same contains a similar genealogy of the Kāmarūpa kings as follows :

“देव, पुरा महावराहसम्पर्कसम्भृतगर्भया भगवत्या भुवा नरको नाम सूनुरसावि
रसातले । × × × × महात्मनस्तस्यान्वये भगदत्तपुष्पदत्तवज्रदत्तप्रभृतिषु व्यतीतेषु
वहुषु मेरुपमेषु महत्सु महीपालेषु प्रपौत्रो महाराजभूतिवर्मणः पौत्रश्चन्द्रमुखवर्मणः पुत्रो
देवस्य कैलासस्थिरस्थितेः स्थितिवर्मणः सुस्थिरवर्मा नाम महाराजाधिराजो जज्ञे तेजसां
राशिभृगाङ्क इति यं जना जगुः । × × × × तस्य च सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य
देव्यां श्यामादेव्यां भास्करद्युतिर्भास्करवर्मापरनामा तनयः शान्तनोर्भागीरथ्यां भीष्म इव
कुमारः समभवत् ।

TRANSLATION

“In former times, your Majesty, the holy Earth having through union with the Boar become pregnant, gave birth in hell to a son called Naraka In the family of this great-souled hero, when many great Meru-like kings such as *Bhagadatta*, *Puṣpadatta* and *Vajradatta* had passed away, there was born a Mahārājādhirāja named *Susthiravarman*, an accumulation of splendour, (as it were), also referred to by the people as *Mrgāṅka*, as firm and steady as the Kailāśa Mountain, great grandson of Mahārāja *Bhūtiavarman*, grandson of *Chandramukhavarman* and son of *Sthitivarman*. To this auspiciously named king was born, by his queen *Śyāmādevī*, a son named Kumāra, with the splendour of the sun and with another name *Bhāskaravarman*, like Bhīṣma born to Śāntanu by Bhāgīrathī.”

The text of *Harṣacarita*, quoted here, gives us another king inbetween Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, named, *Puṣpadatta*. Bhāskaravarman's mother is variously named as *Śyāmādevī*, *Śyāmālakṣmī* and *Dhruvalakṣmī*.

We know the other name Kumāra of Bhāskaravarman, so far, only from *Harṣacarita* and the records of Yuan Chwang. Yuan Chwang also refers to his assuming the name *Kumāra Śīlāditya*. (Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 343, cf. also Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II. p. 186.)

Bhāskaravarman is referred to as Kumāra severally by Emperor Harṣa in *Harṣacarita* and also by Haṁsavega. In the present passage from *Harṣacarita* there seems to be a pun in the word *kumāra*, which also means a bachelor. The simile with Bhīṣma and the way of placing the word *kumāra* in the sentence throw the suggestion that Bhāskaravarmā was a bachelor. The absence of the epithet Kumāra in the Nidhanpur C. P. grant need not suggest that he ceased to be a bachelor at the time of issuing the charter, as conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharyya (*Śāsanāvalī*, Bhūmikā, p. 17), since there is no reference to this name also in the Dubi C. P. which must have been much earlier to the date of composition of *Harṣacarita*.

NIDHANPUR COPPER PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMAN

(between c. 620 and 643 A.D.)

Place and

History : Almost on the eastern fringe of the Sylhet district of Bangladesh in the village of *Nidhanpur* (near Supatala village) of Pañcakhaṇḍa parganā, within Beanibazar thana, seven copper-plates together with a seal (elliptical in form and cracked diagonally) were discovered from under the earth in 1912 A.D. The discoverer Shekh Masharraf, a husbandman, sold the plates and the seal to different persons. The first, second and the seventh plates were purchased by Babu Pabitra Nath Das, a local Zaminder and by him were handed over to Raisaheb Dinanath Das of Silchar and were finally received and deciphered by Padmanath Bhattacharyya of Cotton College, Gauhati. During the period 1912 to 1925 A.D. three more plates, viz. the third, the sixth and one which may be either the fourth or the fifth were recovered. These plates were presented and discussed in various journals in several instalments and all the available plates were finally edited and presented in *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*. Now the fourth (or the fifth) and the sixth plates are preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati; and the first, second, third and the last plates and also the seal are reportedly available with the son of Late Babu Pabitra Nath Das of Sylhet, Bangladesh.

References : P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, No. 13, Vol. XIX, No. 19, Vol. XIX, No. 40, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 1-43; Kamalākānta Gupta, *Copper-plates of Sylhet*, Vol. I, (1967); Raj Bali Pandey, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, pp. 235-40.

Description : The size of each plate is about 6" × 11". There is a hole (of about $\frac{3}{4}$ " diameter) in the left side of each plate for the purpose of tagging the bundle of plates to the seal. The seal is elliptical in shape. Its major and minor axes are about 7" and 6" respectively. In the upper part of the seal there is the relief of the head of an elephant. In the lower half of the seal there are a few lines of indistinct writings. There are 140 lines in the available six plates with 13 or 14 or 15 lines in each page.

Script and

Orthography : In the Nidhanpur C. P. grant we have the eastern variety of the North Indian Brāhmī Alphabet current during the

7th century with a general resemblance with the characters of the Dubi C. P. grant, but also with some marked differences in respect of certain letters and vowel marks as noted below :

(1) As in the Dubi grant, here also no distinction is maintained between *b* and *v*.

(2) Unlike in the Dubi grant in the Nidhanpur grant the distinction between **ष** and **स** is often not very clear.

(3) The **ष** of the Dubi grant is more like the **स** of the modern Assamese script while in the Nidhanpur grant it is more like the Devanāgarī **य**

(4) The **भ** of both the grants differ greatly. The **भ** of the Nidhanpur grant is similar to its own **स** without the right hand side bar.

(5) The **ह** of the Nidhanpur grant is much nearer to the Devanāgarī **ह**. In the Dubi grant this letter is found in two different forms. In one form it is almost similar to the **ह** of the Nidhanpur grant, while in the other form it is like the English letter 'J'.

(6) In both the grants consonants preceded by *r* are reduplicated. But in the Nidhanpur grant there is less consistency in this matter. There is no reduplication, e.g., in **दर्पणेविव** in line 30 of the Nidhanpur grant. Unlike in the Dubi grant, there is no reduplication of consonants in the Nidhanpur grant, when followed by *r*, e.g. in **सामन्तचक्रविक्रम** (lines 37-38).

(7) In the Nidhanpur grant sometimes reduplication is avoided even when it is invariably necessary, e.g., in **स्फुटवाच मु(ज्)ज्वलां** (line 2), **अभव(त्)तस्य** (line 11), **स(त्)त्ववृत्ति** (line 41)

(8) In the Nidhanpur grant the *visarga* is very sparingly used even where it is invariably necessary, while in the Dubi grant a lot of redundant *visargas* are given.

(9) In both the grants *anusvāra* is used for final *m*, and vice versa. The final *m* in some cases assumes the form of the fifth letter of the *varga* of the following consonant. But there is no consistency in respect of the use of the *anusvāra* for final *m* and vice versa. In the

Nidhanpur grant, for example, there is *anusvāra* in **संपत्तुपात्त** (line 2), but there is no *anusvāra* in **सम्पदो हेतु** (line 5).

(10) In the Nidhanpur grant, there is no uniformity in the manner of writing the word **अश**. It is often written as **अदश** placing **ह** just above the **श**. But rarely it is written as **अश** also as in line 114.

(11) In the Nidhanpur grant omission of **इ-कार** is very frequent, as in lines 39 and 40.

What seem to be grammatical mistakes and spelling mistakes may not all be scribal errors. They may be supposed to present us a sort of Prakritism. Hence we have preferred to present the text with all that seem to be errors without any emendation, except where it is unquestionably a case of scribal error.

Language : Sanskrit : There are 25 verses followed by 14 lines of prose in praise of the patron king Bhāskaravarman in Gauḍī style and then from the 5th line of the first page of the third plate onward we have the names and particulars of the brāhmaṇa donees and the particulars of the land donated. Finally we have three more verses at the close of the plates.

Metre : V. 1, *Vaṁśasthavila*; vv. 2-25 and 28, *Āryā*; vv. 26-27, *Anuṣṭubh*.

Nidhanpur Copper Plates of Bhāskaravarman

TEXT

(The third and the last plates in the light of the text given in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanavalī* and the rest in the light of original photographs.)

First Plate : Inside

1. ओ⁵¹ प्रणम्य देवं शशिशेखर(') प्रियं पिनाकिनं भस्मकणैर्विभूषितं । विभूतये
भूतिम (तां द्विज)⁵²

⁵¹ According to Kamala Kanta Gupta, who has consulted the first, second, third and the last plates in original, the *om* is not distinct, and it might be the *āñjī* also. For *āñjī*, see notes under the Tezpur Plates of Vanamāla below.

⁵² May be emended also as **भूतिमतां सुजन्मनां** in the light of the Dubi grant.

2. न्मनां करोमि भूयः (:) स्फुटवाचमु (ज्) ज्वलां ॥ १ ॥ स्वस्ति महानौहस्यस्व⁵³-
पत्तिसंपत्युपात्⁵⁴ जयशब्दा (न्व)
3. र्थस्कन्धावारात् कण्ण⁵⁵ छवण्णा⁵⁵ वासकात् ॥ भोगीश्वरकृतपरिकरमीक्षणजितकामरूपम
4. विमुक्तं परमेश्वरस्य रूपं निजभूतिविभूष⁵⁶तं जयति ॥ २ ॥ जयति जगदेक
वन्धु⁵⁷ लोकोद्वित-
5. यस्य सम्पदो हेतु (:) परहितमूर्त्तिरदृष्टफलानुमेयस्थिति ध⁵⁸र्मः (:) ⁵⁹ ॥ ३ ॥
धात्रीमुच्चिक्षिप्सो⁶⁰
6. रम्भुनिधे (:) कपटकोलरूपस्य चक्रभृत (:) सूनु⁶¹रभूत् पार्थिववृन्दारको नरक (:) ॥ ४ ॥
7. तस्माददृष्टनरकाक्षरकादजनिष्ट नृपतिरिन्द्रसखः भगदत्तः ख्यातजयं विजय (')
8. युधि यः समाह्वयत ॥ ५ ॥ तस्यात्मज (:) क्षतारेर्वज्रदत्तनामाभूत् । शतम-
9. खमखण्डबलगतितरोषयः सदा संख्ये ॥ ६ ॥ वंशेषु तस्य नृपतिषु वर्षसह
10. स्रत्रयं पदमवाप्य । यातेषु देवभूयं क्षितीश्वर (:) पुण्यवर्माभूत् ॥ ७ ॥ मात्सन्याय
11. विरहित (:) प्रकाशरत्न (:) सुतो द्व⁶¹रथलघु (:) । पञ्चम इव हि समुद्र (:)
समुद्रवर्माभवत्⁶²स्य ॥ ८ ॥
12. अविखण्डितवलवर्मा वलवर्मा तस्य सूनु⁶³रजनिष्ट क्षितिपस्य दत्तदेव्या (') सेना य-
13. स्याभ्यमित्रीया ॥ ९ ॥ तस्यापि रत्नवत्या (') नृपतिः कल्याणवर्मनामाभूत् ।
तनयस्तनोयसा
14. मपि यो दोषाणामनावासः ॥ १० ॥ गन्धर्ववती तस्माद्गणपतिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्रं ।
15. गणपतिमगणितगुणगणमसु⁶⁴त कलिहानये तनयं ॥ ११ ॥ तन्माहिषी यज्ञवती

Second Plate : Obverse

16. यज्ञवतीवारणि (:) सुतमसुत यज्ञविधीनामारूपदमनलमिव महेन्द्रवर्माणं ॥ १२ ॥
तस्माद्
17. जनयदात्मजमात्मविदः सुवता भुव (:) स्थितये । नारायणवर्माणं जनकमिवाधि-
गतसांख्यार्थं ॥ १३ ॥
18. प्रकृतिरिव तस्य पुंसो देववती स्थिरगुणानुबन्धाय षष्ठमिव महाभूतं⁶⁵न्दधौ महा
19. भूतवर्माणं ॥ १४ ॥ चन्द्रमुखस्तस्य सुतश्चन्द्र इव कलाकलापरमणीयः । विज्ञानव
20. ती द्यौरिव यं सुषुवे ध्वान्तशान्तिकरं ॥ १५ ॥ भोगवतीभोगवतीभूतेः स्थितवर्मण⁶⁶(:)

⁵³ Read श्व in place of स्व.

⁵⁵ Read ण्ण in place of कण्ण.

⁵⁷ P. N. Bhattacharya unduly closes the fourth line at this stage.

⁵⁸ Read स्थितिर्धर्मः.

⁵⁹ P. N. Bhattacharya unduly closes the fifth line at this stage.

⁶⁰ Read प्सो for स्पो.

⁶¹ Read द्वैरथ for द्वरथ-. This verse involves a metrical flaw.

⁶² Read त्त for त.

⁶³ Read सूनु for सूनु.

⁶⁴ Read असुत.

⁶⁵ Read either भूतं दधौ or भूतन्दधौ.

⁶⁶ Better read वर्मणस्ततो.

21. ततो हेतुः । आसीद्भोगिपतेरिव भूमिभृतो नन्तनागस्य ॥ १६ ॥ तस्मादगाध
 22. मूर्तैरकलितरत्नादुपोढलक्ष्मीकात् क्षीरोदधेरिव नृपादकलङ्क
 23. श्रीमृगाङ्गोभूत् ॥ १७ ॥ उदपादि नयनदेव्या (') सु⁶⁷नुस्तस्य स्वबाहुधृत
 24. राज्यः देव (:) सुस्थितवर्म्मा यः ख्यातः श्रीमृगाङ्ग इति ॥ १८ ॥ प्रत्युरसं
 विलसन्ती (')
 25. तद्धन इव या (') मुदा हरिर्वहति । सा श्रीरर्थिजनेभ्यः क्षितिरेव विश्राणिता
 येन ॥ १९ ॥
 26. कार्त्युगीव श्यामादेवी तस्मादजिजन⁶⁸ तनयं । शशिनमिव सुप्रतिष्ठित-
 27. वर्म्माणमपास्तये त (म) सां ॥ २० ॥ यस्योन्नति⁶⁹ (:) परार्था विद्याधर चक्रवर्ति
 सेव्यस्य सग-
 28. जस्य सुप्रतिष्ठितकटकस्य कुलाचलस्ये⁷⁰व ॥ २१ ॥ सेव श्यामादेवी तस्यानुजम
 29. कलितोदयमसूत श्रीभास्करवर्म्माणं भास्करमिव तेजसां निलयं ॥ २२ ॥

Second Plate : Reverse

30. एकोपि हि यः पुसा⁷¹ हृदयेष्वभिलक्षित (:) स्वभावेन । शुद्धेषु दर्पणेष्विव बहु सुष
 31. मं सन्मुखोनेषु ॥ २३ ॥ यस्याविहृतमतनुभिस्तेजोभि⁷²लक्ष्म नृपतिभवेनेषु उद
 32. पात्रेष्विव भूरिषु विलोक्यते भास्करस्येव ॥ २४ ॥ अव्यालः स्वारोह (:)
 कल्पद्रुम-
 33. वत्समृद्धिभूरिफल (:) । च्छा⁷³योपाश्रितजनतापरिवेष्टितपादमूलो यः ॥ २५ ॥
 34. इत्यपि स जगदुदु⁷⁴यकल्पनास्तमयहेतुना भगवता कमलसम्भवेना
 35. वकीर्णवर्णाश्रमधर्मप्रविभागाय निर्मितो भुवनपतिरिवोदयान्तरक्तमृण्ड⁷⁵
 36. लो यथायथमुचितकरनिक (र) वितरणाकुलितकलितिमिरसञ्चय-
 37. तय⁷⁶प्रकाशिताय⁷⁷ धर्म्मालोक (:) स्वभुजवलतुलितसकलसाम
 38. न्त चक्रविक्रम (:) स्थिति⁷⁸विनयसंस्तवोपचितभक्तिषु प्रकृतिषु परंपरीणासु
 39. निकाममुपकल्प⁷⁹तानेकभोगोन वत्त्रा⁸⁰ समरविजितनरपतिशत वहित⁸¹
 40. विविधनुतिवचनकुसुमरच⁸²त रुचिरकीर्त्तिचित्रावतङ्ग⁸³सङ्कः शिविरिव परो
 41. पकारविश्राणनाभिरतसत्त्व⁸⁴वृत्तिर्य⁸⁵थासमयमुदितगुणविधिविभाग
 42. सम्बन्धपटुतया सरगुरुरिवापर (:) परैरवहितप्रभाव (:) श्रुतशौर्य्यैर्य

⁶⁷ Read सनुस्तस्य

⁶⁸ Read तनयं

⁶⁹ Read यस्योन्नतिः

⁷⁰ Read कुलाचलस्येव

⁷¹ Read पुंसां. Now both the अनुस्वारs are indistinct.

⁷² P. N. Bhattacharya finds a visarga after मि. But the present reading without any visarga is quite clear.

⁷³ Read छायोगाश्रित

⁷⁴ Read जगदुदय

⁷⁵ Read मण्डलो

⁷⁶ Read तया

⁷⁷ Read प्रकाशितार्थ

⁷⁸ Read स्थिति

⁷⁹ Read कल्पिता

⁸⁰ Read वत्त्रा

⁸¹ Read विहित

⁸² Read रचित

⁸³ Read साङ्कः

⁸⁴ Read सत्त्व

⁸⁵ Read वृत्तिर्यथा

43. शौदीर्यसुचरितैरलङ्कृतात्मवृत्तिः प्रतिपक्षसंश्रयनिराकृतैरिव विव-
 44. जितो दोषैरचलितनिरन्तर प्रणयरसभराकृष्टकामरूपलदमीस्स⁸⁶मा-

Third Plate : Obverse

45. लिङ्गनप्रकटिताभिका⁸⁷मिक गुणानुरागवृत्तिः कलियुगपराक्रमाकलितविग्र
 46. हस्य समुच्छा⁸⁸स इव भगवतो धर्मस्य नयस्याधिष्ठानमास्पदं गुणानां निधिः
 47. प्रणयिनामुपपन्नः सन्त्रस्तानां श्रीसम्पदामायतनं वसुमतीसुतक्रमाधि
 48. गतपदसमुत्कर्षदर्वित⁸⁹प्रभावशक्तिर्महाराजाधिराजः श्रीभास्करवर्म
 49. देवः कुशली ॥ चन्द्रपुरिविषये वर्त्तमानभाविनो विषयपतीनधिकर
 50. णानि च समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषयान्तः पातिमयु⁹⁰र
 51. शालमलाग्रहारक्षेत्रं राज्ञा श्रीभूतिवर्मणा कृतं यत् तत्तान्नपट्ट⁹¹भा
 52. वात् करदमिति महाराजेन ज्येष्ठभद्र⁹²विज्ञाप्य पुनरस्याभिनन्न⁹³पट्टकरणाय शासनं
 53. दत्त्वा⁹⁴चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालमकिञ्चित्प्रगृह्यतया भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन पूर्वभो
 54. तु⁹⁵ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितं यत्⁹⁶वाहण⁹⁷नामानि प्राचेतसो वाजसनेयी पट्टकप
 55. तिः अङ्गद्वयभोक्ता साधारणस्वा(मी) श्रीवसुभ्रातृत्त्येण एकोङ्श(:) सोमवर्ष-
 आ⁹⁸वृ सहितोर्द्धाङ्श(:)
 56. कात्यायनच्छन्दोग मनोरथस्वा(मी) चतुर्थाङ्शहीनो द्विरङ्शः पट्टकपति(:)
 अर्द्धाङ्श(:) विष्णुघोषस्वामी ॥
 57. वेदघोषस्वा(मी) एकाङ्श(:)। यास्को वाहृच दामदेव स्वा(मी) अङ्गः।
 घोषदेवस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(:) नन्ददे-
 58. वस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(:) ॥ भारद्वाजच्छान्दोगोर्द्धाङ्शः सहिताध्यर्द्धाङ्श(:)
 तुष्टिदत्तस्वा(मी) अर्द्धा

Third Plate : Reverse

59. ङ्श(:) ॥ काश्यपसगोतृवाजसनेयी ऋषिदामस्वा(मी) अङ्गः(:) शुभदाम-
 स्वा(मी) अङ्गः(:) कौत्सो वाजसने
 60. यी शनिश्चर⁹⁹भूति(:) गोत्राङ्गः(:) ॥ वाहृचो गौरात्रय¹सङ्कर्षणस्वा(मी)
 द्विरङ्गः(:) ॥ नरस्वा(मी) अङ्गः(:) ॥ नारायण-
 61. स्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्गः(:) ॥ विष्णुस्वा(मी) अङ्गः(:) सुदर्शनस्वा(मी) अङ्गः(:)
 गोपेन्द्रस्वा(मी) अङ्गः(:) अर्कस्वा(मी) अङ्गश्च²तुर्थो भागः ॥

⁸⁶ Read लक्ष्मीसमा

⁸⁹ Read दशित

⁹² Read भद्रान्

⁹⁶ Read यत्र

⁹⁹ Read शनैश्चर

¹ Read गौरात्रेय

⁸⁷ Read गामिक

⁹⁰ Read मयूर

⁹³ Read नव

⁹⁷ Original gives ब्राह्मणा

This seems to be a very convincing case of Prakritism.

² Read अंशाच्चतुर्थो

⁸⁸ Read समुच्छवास

⁹¹ Read पट्टाभा

⁹⁵ Read पूर्वभोक्त

⁹⁸ Read सोमवसुभ्रातृ

62. भातुस्वा(मी) (अ)र्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ भूयस्करस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ कृष्णात्रेया
वाजसनेयी यश³भूति स्वा(मी) गोत्ताङ्श(ः) ॥ भरद्वाज
63. श्छान्दोगो वरुणस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ कोण्डिन्यो वाजसनेयी मधुसेनस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) गौतमश्छान्दोगो
64. ध्रुवसोमस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ विष्णुसोमस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ भारद्वाजो
वाजसनेयी विष्णुर्पालित⁴स्वा(मी)
65. (अ)ध्यर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ शुचिपालितस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ मित्रपालितार्थपालितयो(ः)
अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥
66. प्रजापतिपालित स्वा(मी) अंशाच्चतुर्थभाग(ः) ॥ गोतमो वाजसनेयी मधुस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥
67. चक्रदेवस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ वात्सश्रारक्यो⁵ कुष्माण्डपत्त्रस्वा(मी)
चतुर्थांशहीनपद⁶ ॥ ईश्वर
68. दत्तस्वा(मी) द्विरङ्श(ः) ॥ मौद्गल्यो⁷ वाजसनेयी सुदर्शनदिनकरस्वामिभ्यां
अङ्श(ः) ॥ शौनको
69. वाजसनेयी यक्षकुण्डस्वा(मी) (अ)ध्यर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ यश(ः) कुण्डस्वा(मा)
पादाधिकोङ्श(ः) ॥ श्रद्धकुण्डस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥
70. नारायणकुण्डस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ ईश्वरकुण्डस्वा(मी) अर्द्धपादाभ्यधिक(ः)
अङ्श(ः) शक्तिकुण्डस्वा(मी)
71. अङ्शाच्चतुर्थभागः ॥ तोषकुण्डस्वा(मी) अर्द्धपादाभ्यधिक(ः) ॥ अङ्श(ः) ॥
पाराशर्यचारक-
72. साधुस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ अश्लायण⁸ श्छान्दोगगङ्गस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः)
वाराहो वाहृच्यो नरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥

Fourth (or Fifth) Plate : Obverse

73. प्रवरभाग⁹स्वा(मी) चतुर्थभागहीनोङ्श(ः) ॥ अपनागस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥
तोषनागहम्पनागस्वामिभ्यां¹⁰
74. अङ्शाच्चतुर्थो भाग(ः) ॥ काश्यपो वाजसनेयी मनघोषस्व(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥
वैष्णवृद्धिश्छान्दोगो
75. सर्पिणिस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । जनार्दनस्वा(मी) अङ्शः ॥ कौशिको वाहृच्य(ः)
अर्कस्वा(मी) (अ)ध्यर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ भद्रदास
76. स्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ गौतमो वाजसनेयी सनातनस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः)
हर्षप्रभ(ः) गोत्रेण सह अर्द्धा

³ Read यशोभूति.

This also seems to be a case of Prākṛitism.

⁴ Read विष्णुपालित

⁵ Read वात्सश्रारक्यः.

⁶ Read पादः.

⁷ मौद्गल्यवाजसनेयिसुदर्शनदिनकरस्वामिभ्यां is the correct expression.

⁸ Read आश्लायन.

⁹ The intended word is most probably प्रवरनाग.

¹⁰ Read स्वामिभ्याम्.

- 77 इशः () ॥ कौटिल्यो वाजसनेयी खण्डसोमस्वा (मी) (अ) ध्यर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥
श्रेयस्करगतिगौरिसोमेभ्यः
78. अङ्शः ॥ वकुलसोमस्वा (मी) अर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥ धृतिसोम- सिङ्हयाम¹¹- स्वामिभ्या-
मर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥ कृष्णा-
79. तत्रेयो वाजसनेयी भायशः () स्वा (मी) (अ) ध्यर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥ यज्ञस्वा (मी)
पादाभ्यधिकोङ्शः () ॥ दैव
80. स्वा (मी) पादाभ्यधिकोङ्शः () ॥ दर्दिस्वा (मी) अर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥ प्रद्युन्न¹²स्वा
(मी) (अ) ध्यर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥ वृद्धिस्वा (मी) द्विरङ्शः () ॥
81. दिवाकर हरि अ¹³द्रूत त्वष्टुतोषनागेभ्यो¹⁴ अङ्शः () ॥ कवेस्तरो वाजसनेयी
82. मेघस्वा (मी) अङ्शः () ॥ माण्डव्यो वाजसनेयी धृतीस्वामि¹⁵ गोत्रेण सह अङ्शचतु-
83. र्थभागः () ॥ काश्यपो वाजसनेयी¹⁶ केशवस्वा (मी) अङ्शः () ॥ भारद्वाजो
वाजसनेयी गौरस्वा (मी)
84. अङ्शः () ॥ सुचरितस्वा (मी) अर्द्धाङ्शः () ॥ भारद्वाजो वाजसनेयी वप्पस्वा (मी)
अङ्शः () ॥ कौण्डिन्यो वाहृच्यो
85. कर्कदत्तस्वा (मी) अङ्शः () ॥ भारद्वाजो वाहृच्यो उदयनस्वा (मी) अङ्शः () ॥
वासिष्ठो वाहृच्यो मेरुदत्तस्वा (मी)
86. अङ्शः () ॥ अग्निवेशो वाजसनेयी नरेन्द्ररेणुभूतिस्वा (मि) भ्यां अङ्शः () ॥
मेघभूतिस्वा (मी) अर्द्धाङ्शः ()
87. साङ्कृत्यायन च्या¹⁷ रक्यो चन्द्रपक्षस्वा (मी) अङ्शः () ॥ यास्को वाहृच्य
कालिस्वा (मी) अङ्शः ()¹⁸ ॥

¹¹ In the Kś the reading is given as सोम, i.e. सिंहसोम. But याम (i.e., सिङ्हयाम) can be very clearly read in the plate.

¹² प्रद्युन्न seems to be a Prākritisisation for प्रद्युम्न

¹³ The avoidance of सन्धि in a समास, giving हरि अन्द्रूत for हर्यद्रूत is another evidence of Prākritisism.

¹⁴ Read नागेभ्यः

¹⁵ The word स्वामी is nowhere given completely accept in this place. धृतीस्वामि is a corruption for धृतिस्वामी

¹⁶ Read वाजसनेयी

¹⁷ Read चारक्यो

¹⁸ After this word there is a gap of 2.5 cms. The first word स्वामी of the next page should have been preceded by a 'first name' which should have been presumably engraved at this blank space. P. N. Bhattacharya (Kś. p. 16. n. 6) opines that as the first few names of this page contain the family name नाग, and the last name of the next page contains the same family name, it gives the impression that the contents of the reverse page of the present plate should have preceded the contents of the obverse page; and presumably through scribal error, we have the texts in a reverse order. If this presumption happens to be true, then the present plate must be the fifth plate and not the fourth plate; because the word स्वामी of

Fourth (or Fifth) Plate : Reverse

88. स्वा(मी) (अ)ध्यर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ भट्टिमहेश्वरस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ पाराशर्या
वाहृच्यो गोपालनन्दिस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ भार्गवो
89. विश्वभूतिस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ सुरञ्जितसुचरिताभ्यां अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ भारद्वाज-
स्तैत्तिरीय¹⁹ शिवगण-
90. स्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ वाहृच्य कात्यायन(ः) भ्रातृत्रयेण वसुश्रोस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ कौशिको वाजसनेयी
91. वीरभूतिस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ विष्णुभूतिस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ प्रमोद-
भूतिस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ भारद्वाजो वाज-
92. सनेयी विष्णुदत्तस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ कौण्डिन्यो वाजसनेयी बृहस्पतिस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ यास्को
93. वाहृच्य हर्षदेवस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ जातुकर्ण वाजसनेयी मेघस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ कृष्णस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥
94. माधवहरिभ्यां अङ्श(ः) ॥ भारद्वाजश्छान्दोगो जनार्दनदेवस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥
मौद्गल्यो
95. वाजसनेयी विष्णुसोमस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ गार्ग्यश्वारक्यो धनसेनस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ प्रमो-
96. दसेनघोषसेनाभ्यां अङ्श(ः) ॥ सोमसेनस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ गौतमो वाहृच्य²⁰
भास्कर
97. मित्रस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ मधुमित्रस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ साधारण
मित्रसाधुमित्राभ्यां अङ्श(ः) ॥ धृति-
98. मित्रस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ भारद्वाजो वाहृच्य शुक्रभवस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः)
पौत्रिमाच्यो वाहृच्य सुदर्शन-
99. धनेश्वरस्वामिभ्यां अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ शाण्डिल्यो वाजसनेयी रविस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ मधुस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥
100. महीधरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ पौण्डो²¹ वाहृच्य भट्टिमहेश्वरस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ भट्टिभानुस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥
101. रुद्रभट्टिस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ कौशिकश्छान्दोगो अर्द्रिविलेपनस्वा(मी)
अङ्श(ः) ॥ सावर्णि-
102. कसगोत्रो वाजसनेयी गोमि नाग²²स्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥

the beginning of what is now called fourth plate reverse should have been preceded by a first name occurring as the final word of the lost actual fourth plate.

¹⁹ Read तैत्तिरीय

²⁰ Read वाहृच्य

²¹ Read पौण्डो

²² In our photograph the letters of this line are not very clear. Hence this line is given on the strength of the reading of the K.S.

Penultimate²³ Plate : Obverse

103. शालङ्कायनवाजसनेयी सूर्यस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ भारद्वाजो वासजनेयी भवदेवस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ।
104. शर्वदेवस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) गोमिदेवस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) । ²⁴सवित्त्रदेवस्वा(मी) द्विरङ्श(ः) । अर्कदेवस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ।
105. साधारणस्वा(मी) अङ्शाच्चतुर्भाग(ः) गार्ग्यो²⁵ वाजसनेयी दामरातस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । भारद्वाजो
106. वाजसनेयी वसुदत्तस्वा(मी) द्विरङ्श(ः) । आलम्बायनो वज²⁶सनेयी जाने²⁷श्वरस्वामी(मी) द्विरङ्श²⁸(ः) ।
107. विश्वेश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । दिव्येश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । गणेश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । वृषेश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ।
108. जातेश्वराङ्गेश्वरभ्यां अङ्श(ः) ॥ धा²⁹तेश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्शाच्चतुर्भाग(ः) ॥ मघेश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्शाच्चतुर्भ³⁰ग(ः) ।
109. जहेश्वरस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्श(ः) ॥ नन्देश्वरस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । आङ्गिरसो वाजसनेयी दाम³¹भूति
110. स्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) । काश्यपो बाह्वृच³²प्रकाशवरस्वा(मी) आतुसहितोङ्श(ः) । यास्को वाजसनेयी
111. गायत्रीपालस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ पाराशर्यो वा³³हृच्यशान्तशर्मस्वा(मी) अङ्श(ः) ॥ कौशिको
112. बाह्वृच्य पद्मदासस्वा(मी) गोत्राङ्शः³⁴ ॥ गोवर्द्धनयज्ञपालपणुदृशंनस्वामि
113. भ्यां अर्द्धाङ्शः³⁴ ॥ पाङ्कलयश्छान्दोगो गोपालस्वा(मी) अङ्शः³⁵ ॥ काश्यपस्त्रै³⁵त्तरीय उपदत्तस्वा(मी)

²³ From the contents of the preceding few pages, we cannot be sure if there were a few more plates. But from the contents of the present and the following plate we are sure that it is the last but one plate. So far as the history of the discovery of these plates goes, there were only seven plates in all. Hence, this may perhaps be safely called the sixth plate.

²⁴ Read सवित्त्रदेव

²⁵ Read गार्ग्यो

²⁶ Read वाजसनेयी

²⁷ Read यागेश्वर In the Kś it is emended without noticing the original reading. But the ज in the original is very clear.

²⁸ In the Kś the reading is given only as अङ्श(ः) (emended as अंशः) But the reading द्विरङ्श is very clear in the original.

²⁹ Read धौतेश्वर

³⁰ Read चतुर्भाग(ः)

³¹ In Kś the reading is given as दासभूति. But दामभूति is quite clear.

³² Read बाह्वृच्य

³³ The original gives a ऋ-कार also below व. It is decidedly a scribal error.

³⁴ In this plate only, in places like this, the visarga is clearly given after the word अङ्श.

³⁵ Read त्ति.

114. अङ्शः³⁴ ॥ वाहस्पत्यो वाहृच्यो भट्टिनन्तस्वा^{35a}(मी) अंशः³⁶ ॥ साधु-
स्वा(मी) अंशः³⁷ ॥ देवकुलस्वा(मी) अंशः ॥
115. जनार्दनस्वा(मी) (अ)र्द्धाङ्शः ॥ सनयन नारायण वृद्धिस्वामिभ्यः(ः) अर्द्धाङ्शः ॥
गौतमो वाहृ-

Penultimate Plate : Reverse

116. च्य ईश्व³⁸भट्टस्वा(मी) अंशः ॥ शृगुस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्शः ॥ भारद्वाजो³⁹
वाहृच्य रुद्रघोषस्वा(मी) अंशः ॥ कात्यायनश्चारकः कौशिसो-
117. म स्वा(मी) अंशः ॥ गौतमो वाजसनेयी प्रभाकरकीर्तिस्वा(मी) अङ्शः ॥
शाण्डिल्यो वाजसनेयी अनन्द⁴⁰स्वा(मी) अंशः(ः) ॥
118. शौनको वाहृच्यो गतिभट्टिस्वा(मी) अंशः । तेजभट्टिस्वा(मी) अंशः ।
मनघोषतेजभट्टि नन्दभू-
119. तिस्वामिभ्यां (अ)र्द्धाङ्शः ॥ दामभट्टिस्वा(मी) अंशः ॥ मेघभट्टिस्वा(मी)
अंशः ॥ सुमतिभट्टिस्वा(मी) अंशः ॥
120. सुयोगभट्टिस्वा(मी) अंशः ॥ वात्स्यो वाहृच्यो शाश्वतदामस्वा(मी) अंशः(ः) ॥
गौतमश्छान्दोगो तोषस्वा(मी)
121. अङ्शः(ः) ॥ वाराहो वाहृच्यो भट्टिहरस्वा(मी) अङ्शः ॥ भारद्वाजो
वाजसनेयी नागदत्तस्वा(मी) अर्द्धाङ्शः(ः) ॥
122. भालम्बायनो दूर्वधरस्वा(मी) भ्रात्रा सहार्द्धाङ्शः ॥ भारद्वाजो रूपाढ्यस्वा(मी)
(अ)र्द्धाङ्शः ॥ कौशिक-
123. वाहृच्यो चन्द्रदास विमर्दनदास स्वामिनोरेकोङ्शः ॥ काश्यपो⁴¹ वाजसनेयी
124. सुप्रतिष्ठितस्वा(मी) अङ्शः ॥ गौतमनन्दनस्वा(मी) अङ्शः ॥ शाकटायनो
तोषस्वा(मी)
125. अर्द्धाङ्शः ॥ गौतम काश्यपया⁴² सारसवकुलस्वामिनोरेकोङ्शः ॥ भारद्वाजो
विदूष-
126. स्वामिनो^{42a}अर्द्धाङ्शश्चेति ॥ वलिचरुसत्रोपयोगाय सप्ताङ्शः(ः) ॥ यदेतत्कौ-
शिकोपचितकक्षेत्रं

^{35a} Read भट्टिनन्दस्वामी

³⁶ Only in this plate in places like this,

अंश is written with anusvāra, in place of अङ्श.

³⁷ The portion साधुस्वा(मी)

अंशः is not given in the KŚ.

³⁸ The first three letters are not clear. They are restored from the text given in the KŚ.

³⁹ KŚ gives भारद्वाजवाहृच्य. But the ओ-कार is quite clear.

⁴⁰ The intended reading seems to be either अनन्तस्वामी or आनन्दस्वामी.

⁴¹ Read काश्यपो.

⁴² Read काश्यपयोः

^{42a} Read भारद्वाजविदूषस्वामिनः.

127. तत्फल⁴³ प्रतिग्राहकब्राह्मणानामेव यत्तु गङ्गिण्युपचितकक्षेत्रं तद्यथालिखित-
 128. कब्राह्मणे(ः) समं विभज्यतामिति ॥ सीमानो यत्र पूर्वेण शुष्ककौशिका ॥
 पूर्वदक्षि-
 129. णेन सैव शुष्ककौशिका डुम्बरीच्छेदसम्वेद्या ॥ दक्षिणेनापि डुम्बरीच्छेद(ः)⁴⁴ ।
 दक्षिण-

Last (Seventh) Plate : Inside⁴⁵

130. पश्चिमेन गङ्गणिका⁴⁶ डुम्बरीच्छेदसम्वेद्या । पश्चिमेनाधुना सीमगङ्गिणिका ॥ पश्चिमो-
 131. त्तरेण कुम्भकारगत्तस्सैव च गङ्गिणिका प्राग्भूज्यमानोत्तरेण वृहजाटली ॥ उत्तरपू-
 132. र्वेण व्यवहारिखासोकपुष्करिणी⁴⁷ सैव शुष्ककौशिका चेति ॥ आज्ञाशत
 प्रापयित⁴⁸
 133. प्रासपञ्चमहाशब्द श्रीगोपाल(ः) सोमाप्रदाता चन्द्रपुरिनायक श्रीक्षिकुण्डः
 134. न्यायकरणिकजनार्दनस्वामी व्यवहारिहरदत्त कायस्थदुन्धुनाथप्रभृतयः⁴⁹
 135. शासद्⁵⁰ता लेखयिता च वसुवर्ण(ः) भाण्डागाराधिकृतमहासामन्तदिवाकर-
 प्रभ(ः)
 136. उत्खेदयिता दत्तकारपूणो⁵¹ । सेक्यकार(ः) कालिया ॥ षष्टिम्बर्ष^{51a}सहस्राणि
 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः(।)
 137. आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ताच तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ २६ ॥
 138. स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुधरां(।) स विष्टायां कृमि भुत्वा⁵² पितृभ⁵³
 सह पच्यते ॥ २७ ॥
 139. शासनदाहादवांगभिनवलिखितानि भिन्नरूपाणि(।) तेभ्यो अक्षराणि⁵⁴ यस्मा
 140. तस्मान्नैतानि^{54a}कूटाणि ॥ २८

⁴³ Read तत्फल.

⁴⁴ Read डुम्बरीच्छेदः.

⁴⁵ Reproduced from the K.S. In conformity with the earlier pages the original is given in the main text and emendations are given in foot-notes. ⁴⁶ Read गङ्गिणिका

⁴⁷ This may be treated as a Prakritism for पुष्करिणी. It is the most convincing proof of a Kāmarūpī Prakrit since it occurs as पुष्करिणी also in the plates of Balavarman III and Indrapāla.

⁴⁸ Read प्रापयिता

⁴⁹ Read प्रभृतयः

⁵⁰ Read शासयिता

⁵¹ Read पूरणः

^{51a} Read वर्ष.

⁵² Read भूत्वा

⁵³ Read पितृभिः

⁵⁴ Read तोभ्योक्षराणि

^{54a} Read तस्मान्नैता.

TRANSLATION⁵⁵

Om : Having saluted the God, who wears the moon as the crest-jewel, who is lovely, who holds the pināka bow and who is decorated with particles of ashes, I once again clarify the wellknown words for the benefit of the prosperous Brāhmaṇas. (1)

Let there be welfare to all. (This charter is issued) from the (royal) residence of Kārṇasuvarṇa, the royal palace (*skandhāvāra*) which has acquired (*upāṭṭa*) the propriety in respect of the meaning (*anvartha*) of the word 'victory' (*jaya*) (prefixed to it), owing to possession of splendid ships, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. (11. 2-3)

Victorious is the form of the great Lord (Śiva), never forsaken (*avimukta*), bedecked with its own splendour (or ashes), having a girdle made of the Lord of Snakes, that destroyed the body of Kāma (Cupid) with a mere glance. (2)

Victorious is *Dharma*, the sole friend of the creation, the cause of prosperity in both the worlds, whose very form is the good done to others, who is unseen and whose existence can be inferred only from the results. (3)

Naraka, the chief of the rulers of the earth (who was as it were a god on earth) was the son of the holder of the wheel (*cakra*), who, with a view to lifting up the earth from under the ocean, assumed the distinguished form of a boar. (4)

From that Naraka, by whom the *Naraka* (hell) was never seen, was born king Bhagadatta, the friend of Indra, who challenged in battle (even) Vijaya (i.e., Arjuna), renowned for conquests. (5)

Of that killer of enemies (there) was a son named Vajradatta who was as speedy as the thunderbolt (*vajra*), who with an unflinching energy and progress always pleased in fight the performer of hundred sacrifices (i.e., Indra). (6)

When the kings of his family having enjoyed the position (of rulers) for three thousand years had (all) attained the state of gods, Puṣyavarman became the lord of the world. (7)

His son was Samudravarma, who was as it were the fifth *samudra* (ocean) being devoid of anarchy (i.e., *mātsyanyāya*, which is common to other four oceans), having jewels as open exhibits (unlike the other oceans which have jewels hidden below) and being brisk in duels (i.e. *dvairathalaghu*,

⁵⁵ Translation of these plates appeared in *Ep. Indica*, Vols. XII and XIX. The same is reproduced by K. L. Barua in the Appendix I to the *Early history of Kāmarūpa*. Kamalakanta Gupta in a foot note to the translation presented by him, informs that some portions are reprinted from *Ep. Indica*, Vols XII and XIX. (vide, *Copper Plates of Sylhet*, p. 32). While it is obvious that the present translation in general agrees with the said translation of *Ep. Indica*, it also aims at presenting the necessary improvements on the contribution of the earlier scholars.

unlike the other oceans which are *dvairatha guru* or heavy with the tussle of waves (?) (8)

That king had a son born of (his queen) Dattadevi, (named) Balavarman, whose force (*bala*) and armour (*barma*) never broke up and whose army would easily march against enemies. (9)

His son born of (queen) Ratnavatī was the king named Kalyāṇavarman, who was not the abode of even very small faults. (10)

From him (queen) Gandharvavatī begot a son Gaṇapati (by name) who was incessantly raining gifts (*dānavarṣaṇa*), was endowed with innumerable qualities, for the extermination of the Kali age (i.e. strife) like Lord Gaṇapati, who has an incessant flow of ichor (*dānavarṣaṇa*), is endowed with innumerable qualities for the extermination of strife (*Kali*). (11)

His queen Yajñavatī brought forth a son Mahendravarman, who was the support for the sacrificial rites like the fire, the very foundation for sacrificial rites, in the manner of the friction-wood (*araṇī*), which is also the source of sacrifices (*yajñavatī*). (12)

From him, the knower of the self, Suvratā (the queen) begot a son (named) Nārāyaṇavarman, who having mastered the significance of Sāṃkhya was similar to Janaka (or his own father), for the stability of the world. (13)

From him, Devavatī, like Prakṛti from the (celebrated) Puruṣa, bore Mahābhūtarman, the sixth Mahābhūta (basic element) as it were, for the steady succession of all the qualities. (14)

His son was Chandramukha, who was charming by (possessing) all the arts as the moon (by the digits), whom Vijñānavatī brought forth, as the sky did (the moon), a dispeller of (all) gloom (as the moon dispels the darkness). (15)

Thereafter (queen) Bhogavatī of (good) enjoyment became the cause (of birth) of Sthitavarman, the supporter of the world, who had innumerable (sources of) enjoyment like Bhogavatī (the city of the snakes of the nether regions), the source of prosperity of the chief of snakes, the supporter of the earth, who has a myriad of hoods. (16)

From that king of unfathomable nature, of innumerable gems, of association with the (royal) Fortune was born Śrī Mṛgāṅka, who had no blemish (*akalaṅka*) like a moon (as it would have been) without any spot, born from the milky ocean, unfathomable in magnitude, possessed of innumerable gems, wherefrom Lakṣmī was obtained. (17)

His (i.e., Sthitavarman's) son, king Susthitavarman was born of Nayanadevi. Susthitavarman held the kingdom in his own hands and was known as Śrī Mṛgāṅka. (18)

By whom was given away to supplicants, as if it were (a clod of) earth (*kṣitiriva*), that shining Lakṣmī (i.e., wealth as vast as the earth) whom (god) Hari holds fast to his bosom like a miser holding his wealth,

though this Lakṣmī is (unreliable enough) to shine in the bosom of everybody. (19)

From him Śyāmādevī, (divine) like that goddess (Śyāmā) of the Kṛta (i.e., golden) age, generated a son Supratisthitavarman, the moon as it were to dispel (all) gloom. (20)

Whose prosperity was for the benefit of others, who was possessed of elephants and attended by the chief among the learned and possessed of a well established capital like a Kulācala (i.e., one of the seven or eight select great mountains known as *Kulācala*), whose height is for the benefit of others, which is haunted by the chief of Vidyādhara, is rich in elephants and possessed of a ridge. (21)

The same Śyāmādevī also brought forth his younger brother Śrī Bhāskaravarman, who like the sun was of incalculable rise and the abode of all splendour. (22)

Who even being only one, is, on account of his own (good) nature, severally and elegantly reflected in the hearts of people, always looking towards him with agreeable disposition in the manner of being reflected in a number of clean mirrors placed face to face. (23)

Whose mark (i.e., picture) was seen in the houses of kings, untarnished on account of great lustre, like the disc of the sun in several water pots. (24)

Who is without cruelty, easily accessible, endowed with plenty of fruits in the form of prosperity and feet surrounded by people who resort to his protection like the wish-yielding tree when it is not encircled by snakes, and is easily accessible, laden with fruits in the form of prosperity and is possessed of roots surrounded by people who take shelter in its shade. (25)

Moreover, he, who has been created by the lord (Brahmā) born of the lotus, the cause of the origin, arrangement and destruction of the universe, for the proper distribution of the duties of (various) castes and stages of life, which have been lying in a confused state; who like a lord of the world (*jagatpati*) at the very time of accession to the throne (*udaya*) could endear the circle of the friends and foes (*maṇḍala*) to him like the sun (*jagatpati*), which assumes a red disc (*anuraktamaṇḍala*) in time of its rise and like the sun which makes an equal distribution of its rays, caused the light of the *āryadharma* to appear again, after having dispelled the darkness of the kali age with an equal distribution of the revenue. Who has surpassed the whole ring of his feudatories by the strength of his own arm, who has devised many a way of enjoyment for his hereditary subjects, whose (loyal) devotion (to him) has been enlarging through steadfastness, modesty and singing of praise, who is adorned with a wonderful ornament of splendid fame made by the flowers in the form of various words of praise composed by hundreds of kings vanquished by him in battle; whose virtuous spirit like that of Śivi remains

engaged in making gifts for the benefit of others, who like another preceptor of the gods (i.e., another Br̥haspati) makes his powers recognised by others with his skill in the act of timely effecting a coordination or a division of the precepts relating to the *guṇas* (i.e., six elements of foreign policy), whose own conduct is adorned by learning, valour, patience, prowess and good actions, who is avoided by faults as if they were dispelled by his taking resort to their rivals (i.e., the virtues), who has exhibited his inherent interest in the *ābhigāṃika* qualities⁵⁶ by embracing the Lakṣmī (i.e., the Royal Fortune) of Kāmarūpa with a staunch incessant excessive passion of love; who is, as it were, the very life-breath of Dharma, whose person has been overpowered by the protection of the wealth and fortune of the fear-stricken; whose power of influence is exhibited by the elevation of the rank obtained in order of succession from (Naraka) the son of Vasumatī (i.e., Earth), is the king of kings Śrī Bhāskaravarman, possessed of well-being, who commands the present and the future district officers as well as the courts of justice in the district of Candrapuri (as follows) : Let it be known to you, that the land of the Mayūraśālmālagrahāra (grant to the Brāhmaṇas) lying within this district, granted (earlier) by issuing a copper-plate charter by king Bhūtivarman has become liable to revenue on account of the loss of the copper-plates. So by the Mahārāja (Bhāskaravarman), having informed the senior respectable persons and having issued orders for making a fresh copper-plate grant, the land has been awarded to the Brāhmaṇas, who have been already enjoying the grant, in the manner of *bhūmi-chidra*, so that no tax is levied on it as long as the sun, the moon and the earth will endure. Here the names of the Brāhmaṇas (i.e., donees) are as follows :⁵⁷ (lines 34 to 54)

Seven shares (*aṃśāḥ*) are (allotted) for the purpose of *bali* (worship), *caru* (oblation) and *satra* (hospitality). The produce of the land, found as an extension (due to the drying up) of the Kauśikā river, will go to the Brāhmaṇas, the donees of the grant;⁵⁸ but the land, found as an extension (due to the dying up) of the Gaṅgiṇī shall be equally shared by the Brāhmaṇas as recorded. These are the boundaries : to the east lies the dry Kauśikā, to the south-east, that very dry Kauśikā, marked by a hewn fig tree, to the west now the boundary of Gaṅgiṇī, to the north-west a potter's pit⁵⁹ and the said Gaṅgiṇī bent eastward, to the north a large, jāṭalī tree; to the north-east the pond of the controlling tradesman Khāsoka and the dry Kauśikā. The officer issuing hundred commands

⁵⁶ Certain attractive qualities which make the qualified person agreeable to the people. See notes below.

⁵⁷ The names are given in a tabular form separately below.

⁵⁸ Possibly it is intended that the donees will receive the share of the produce in proportion to the share of their land.

⁵⁹ Or, the potter's pit.

is Śrī Gopāla who has received the five great *śadbas*. The officers who mark the boundaries are the headman of the Candrapurī (named) Śrī Kṣikuṇḍa, the dispute-settler (*nyāyakaraṇika*) Janārdanasvāmin, the controlling officer (*vyavahārī*) Haradatta and the clerk (*Kāyastha*) Dundhunātha, and others.⁶⁰ The composer and writer of the grant is Vasuvarṇa. The Master of the treasury is the *Mahāsāmanta* Divākara-prabha. Tax-collector is Dattakārapūrṇa. The copper-smith (i.e., the maker of the plates) is Kāliyā. (lines 126 to 136)

The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years and he who confiscates or assents (to confiscation) lives in hell for the same period. (V. 26)

One who confiscates the land given by himself or by others, becomes worm of the filth and rots with the manes. (V. 27)

Since after the burning of the plaes, these newly written letters are (obviously) different in form (from the letters of the earlier grant) they are not (to be suspected as) forged. (V. 28)

NOTES

Date of issuing the grant :

Like the Dubi C. P. grant the present one is also not dated. We may be sure of one thing that the Dubi grant was issued much earlier and the Nidhanpur grant was issued much later during the reign of Bhāskaravarman. We may almost safely suppose Bhāskara to have ruled from 594 to 650 A.D. (*HCPA*, p. 164). The Nidhanpur grant was issued from the royal residence situated at Karṇasuvarṇa. This should help us in assigning a tentative date to the said grant. According to P. N. Bhattacharya, Bhāskara was not actually ruling over Karṇasuvarṇa; but immediately after the joint victory of Harṣa and Bhāskara over Śaśāṅka in about 606 A.D., the accepted date of Bhāskara's seeking military alliance with Harṣa, Bhāskara spent some time in Karṇasuvarṇa in celebrating the joint victory, and the donees met the king in his temporary camp itself and managed to have the edict reissued to them in place of one which was granted earlier by Bhāskara's great grand-father Bhūtivarman (*Śāsanāvalī*, Bhūmikā, p. 16). Hence, according to P. N. Bhattacharya, the charter was granted in the 'early part' of the seventh century. (*Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 5, 9f). P. N. Bhattacharya's opinion is that the fruit of the joint victory was enjoyed by Harṣa as the king of Karṇasuvarṇa and not by Bhāskara, for whom Karṇasuvarṇa remained a place quite outside his own territory.

But according to the *Harṣacarita*, when Harṣa was on a day's journey from Kānyakubja eastward against Śaśāṅka, the lord of Gauḍa, Bhāskara's ambassador Harṇsavega met him and offered Bhāskara's imperishable

⁶⁰ Here I disagree with earlier translations for reasons given in notes.

alliance. Harṣa accepted the alliance and it was reciprocal. But Harṣa immediately left towards the south in search of his sister Rājyaśrī, leaving apparently Bhāskara alone to fight with Śaśāṅka. The *Harṣacarita* does not give any indication that Harṣa took part in the fight. Hence there cannot be any question of a joint victory over Śaśāṅka as P. N. Bhattacharya thinks. It would be quite illogical to say that Bhāskara, who led the military expedition against Śaśāṅka alone, handed over the territory gained by him to Harṣa, who did not take part in the expedition at all. P. N. Bhattacharya opines that Kārṇasuvarṇa was not within Kāmarūpa and was also not under any temporary occupation of Bhāskara since Yuan Chwang had given separate descriptions of Kāmarūpa and Kārṇasuvarṇa. (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 5). It is also pointed out that Yuan Chwang entered into Kāmarūpa after crossing the river Karatoyā (*Ka lu to*), identified as the modern river Teesta. (*Śāsanāvalī*, Bhūmikā, p. 17). But in our opinion Yuan Chwang referred only to the traditional boundary and traditional territory of Kāmarūpa. That does not rule out the possibility of Bhāskara's having been the ruler of Kārṇasuvarṇa also. That is also not sufficient to confirm that Kārṇasuvarṇa was under Harṣa. In the opinion of R. C. Majumdar Harṣa's empire comprised only of modern U.P., Bihar and a portion of the Eastern Punjab with the exclusion of a portion of territory in the north-west. (vide *HCPA*, p. 175). D. C. Ganguly says that "there is not the slightest evidence to prove that Harṣa ever held sway over Bengal." In his opinion "the larger portion of Gauḍa, which was situated between Kāmarūpa and Kārṇasuvarṇa was within the kingdom of Bhāskaravarman." (*Ibid* p. 175).

That Kārṇasuvarṇa became part of Bhāskara's kingdom soon after his victory over and expulsion of Śaśāṅka, and that it remained so at least upto 643 A.D. can be ascertained with the help the Chinese record, the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, where it is held that Bhāskaravarman taking the pilgrim with him, proceeded with his army of elephants, 20,000 in number, to meet Harṣa at Kājaṅgala near Rājmahal and his 30,000 ships passed along the Ganges to the same destination. Thus Bhāskara passed through Gauḍa with such a vast army. 'Had this country been under any other king at the time, it is unlikely that Bhāskara would have been allowed to pass through it.' (*HCPA*, p. 175). Thus in 643 A.D. Gauḍa including northern Rāḍha formed part of Kāmarūpa. Hence, we may conclude that Bhāskara actually ruled over Kārṇasuvarṇa and this place served as an additional seat of government. Kārṇasuvarṇa was not merely a temporary military camp but it was actually a capital city of Bhāskaravarman. R. C. Majumdar very rightly observes that "it would have been highly impolitic, to say the least of it, on the part of Bhāskaravarman to issue a formal royal edict from a place which belonged not to him but to a mighty king like Harṣa" (vide, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 78).

But the said authority contends that Bhāskara occupied Kārṇasuvarṇa only after Harṣa's death, i.e., after the year 647-48. If this position be accepted then the Nidhanpur grant must be assigned to the period between 648-50. That Bhāskara was ruling over entire eastern India including Kārṇasuvarṇa during the said period is confirmed by the Chinese records concerning the mission of Wang Heuen tse, which refer to Shi-kien-ma (= Śrī Kumāra, i.e. Bhāskaravarman) as the 'King of Eastern India.' (Vide, *EHK* p. 60).

We have shown above that even around 643 A.D. Bhāskara was ruling over Kārṇasuvarṇa. According to R. D. Banerji, at the time of the Ganjam plates, i.e., in 619 A.D., Śaśāṅka had already "lost his possessions in Bengal and was the master of Orissa only." (Vide, *History of Orissā*, I, pp. 128 f). K. L. Barua observes that "it is reasonable to suppose that Śaśāṅka was driven out of Kārṇasuvarṇa about 610 A.D. The coronation of Śrī Harsha took place about 612 A.D. after Śaśāṅka had been overthrown and Bhāskaravarman had come into possession of Kārṇasuvarṇa" (*EHK*, p. 45). Bejoynath Sarkar points out that "Śrī Harsha's sway never reached Bengal and that Śaśāṅka's kingdom passed to Bhāskaravarman as otherwise he could not have controlled the sea-route to China and promised a safe passage to Yuān Chwang", as recorded in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 188. (*EHK*, p. 45f). Thus Bhāskara became the ruler of Kārṇasuvarṇa in c. 610 A.D. and continued to remain so upto c. 650 A.D. It is most likely that Harsha's coronation took place in about 612 A.D. only after the *Gauḍendra Kaṇṭaka* was uprooted by his political ally Bhāskara.

On the basis of the above observations we may now surmise that the Dubi grant was issued before 610 A.D. at a time when Bhāskara's earlier defeat in the hands of the Gauḍas was yet a matter of recent memory, and when Bhāskara's military strength was yet in a somewhat subdued form. But the Nidhanpur grant must have been issued long after Bhāskara's occupation of Kārṇasuvarṇa. The issue of the grant must have been separated from his victory over the Gauḍa ruler by several years, so as to make the said military achievement a matter of well-established reputation. Bhāskara now did not like to hammer on his victory over the Gauḍas who by now must have become very much his own subjects, dear and devoted to him on account of his kind and efficient administration for quite a few years past. Bhāskara very intelligently put on record his military achievement by declaring Kārṇasuvarṇa as his *jayaskandhāvāra*, i.e., the victorious royal residence. Most probably Bhāskara used to reside in Kārṇasuvarṇa, an additional seat of government, for a few years after its occupation for giving the people the benefit of a well-organised administration. During this very period the Nidhanpur grant must have been reissued to the descendants of the original donees as a part of his revenue settlement. Again it appears that in 643 A.D.,

Bhāskara was residing not in Kārṇasuvarṇa, but in the traditional capital of Kāmarūpa, for, Yuan Chwang describes Kārṇasuvarṇa without referring to its reigning king, while he mentions the reigning king of Kāmarūpa, while describing the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. It may be presumed that at that time Bhāskara used to run the administration of Kārṇasuvarṇa through a governor. (Cf. *EHK*, p. 46f.) Thus, in our opinion, the Nidhanpur grant was issued sometime between 610 and 643 A.D. That there is not the slightest hint regarding the visit of the Chinese pilgrim and the event of Bhāskara's taking part in the religious assembly in Kanauij, tend to confirm our belief that the Nidhanpur grant was issued before the visit of the Chinese pilgrim, i.e., before 643 A.D.

The date of composition of the *Harṣacarita* is not precisely fixed. Both the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita* must have taken some years to be brought to a shape in which they were left unfinished by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, who must have predeceased his patron Harsha. We do not find any difficulty to presume that the said works were composed by Bāṇabhaṭṭa during the period 612 and 620 A.D., when stability has been already restored to the empire of Harsha. Because of closer political relation between the kings of Thaneswara and Kāmarūpa, there must have been a closer cultural contact also, as a result of which the *Harṣacarita*, presumably, became familiar to the poets of Kāmarūpa within a short span of time. An evidence of a closer cultural contact in respect of literary products is that books, covered by barks of *aguru*, and containing *subhāṣitas*, formed a part of the gifts sent by Bhāskara to Harsha, through Haṃsavega. cf. *अगुस्वल्कलकल्पितसञ्चयानि च दृढावितभाञ्चि पुस्तकानि* (*Harṣacarita*, VII. p. 776). In our opinion, the Nidhanpur grant seems to bear some traces of the influence of Bāṇa's style. P. N. Bhattacharya (*Śāsanāvalī* p. 10) and Dimbeswar Sarma (*Proceedings and Transactions*, XXII All India Oriental Conference, p. 99 ff.) cannot accept this position because of assigning the Nidhanpur grant to a much earlier date, immediately after the occupation of Kārṇasuvarṇa, 'when Emperor Harṣavardhana was not yet firmly established on his throne'. But on the strength of the arguments given above we find it more reasonable to place the date of the Nidhanpur grant in between 620 and 643 A.D.

The only strong argument against this view may be that the donees must have taken the earliest opportunity to approach Bhāskara for a fresh grant as soon as he regained the lost territory also of the candrapuriviṣaya through his victory over the Gaudas. Thus the grant must have been issued by Bhāskara immediately after the occupation of Kārṇasuvarṇa by him. But in my opinion the grant need not be supposed to have been issued in such a hotchpotch. In lines 34-48 the grant speaks of a well organised government. It appears more likely that the grant was issued as a part of well-organised administrative affairs and it was issued in course of time as a matter of periodic revenue settlement.

Karṇasuvarṇa was not merely a military camp—

In the Nidhanpur grant, Karṇasuvarṇa is called a *skandhāvāra*. This term means a military camp; another word often used in this sense is *śivira*. But *śilpatantra*, a work of unknown date, seems to maintain a distinction between the two terms. A military camp, of a person desirous of conquests and equipped with the fourfold army, situated either at a foreign country or in his own, is called *śivira*, while a military camp is called a *skandhāvāra* when an actual fight between two kings take place at the vicinity of the camp. (vide, P. C. Chakravarti, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 106). P. N. Bhattacharya (in *Sāsanāvalī*, p. 5) seems to have taken this one to be the only meaning of the term *skandhāvāra*. But there are ample inscriptional evidences to lead us to the irresistible conclusion that the term also means a victorious camp subsequently turned into a royal city or a seat of government. Thus for example, (i) the seat of government of King Harjaravarman is called a Jayaskandhāvāra in the line 21 of the Hāyūnthal C. P. grant (829-30 A.D.).

श्रीमान् हारूपेश्वराधोसि जयस्कन्धावार परमपरमेश्वर परमभट्टारक.....हर्जरवम्म देवः कुशली । Presumably, initially this city was associated with some military victory. But subsequently it became the permanent administrative head-quarters, because Vanamāla and Balavarman also issued their charters from this very city referred to with the name Haḍapeśvara.

(ii) महानौहस्यश्वजयस्कन्धावारात् क्रीपुराद् भगवन्महादेवपादानुध्यातो महाराजश्रीवैज्यगुप्तः (Vide Gunaighar c. p. of Vainyagupta of A.D. 507, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 65, or D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 341).

(iii) पाटलिपुत्रसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् (Vide lines 28-29, Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapāla, *Histoical and Literary Inscriptions*, p. 227)

(iv) श्रीविक्रमपुर समावासित श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् (line 25, Paścimbhāg C. P. of Śrīcandra)

(v) श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानेकनौहस्यश्वरथपतिसम्पन्नस्कन्धावारात् (line 1, Barah c. p. Inscription of Mihirabhoja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19)

(vi) काञ्चनपुरसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् (line 24, Bongaon Plate of Vīgrahapāla III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 7. p. 55). D. C. Sircar thinks the meaning of the term जयस्कन्धावार to be 'possibly a temporary capital.' (*Ibid*, p. 50) D. C. Sircar also opines in his introductory note on the Santiragrāma Grant of Daṇḍimahādevī (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX, No. 10, p. 81) that "the word *skandhāvāra* originally indicated 'a camp', but later also 'a royal city or capital'."

In all the above quotations the term cannot mean merely a military camp. Hence, in the Nidhanpur grant also *jayaskandhāvāra* means the 'victorious royal head-quarters' and Karnasuvārṇa was actually a seat of government of Bhāskaravarman.

Location of the donated land :

By the Nidhanpur C. P. grant, a plot of revenue-free land was granted to more than 200 Brāhmaṇas belonging to more than 40 Gotras in the Mayūraśālmala-agrahāra, belonging to the Candrapuri viṣaya. We are to examine where this plot of land was actually situated. A *viṣaya* means a district belonging to a *maṇḍala* (i.e., a division) which again belongs to a *bhūkti* (i.e., a province). In the Nidhanpur C. P. grant, we are not told about the *bhūkti* and *maṇḍala*, corresponding to the Candrapuri viṣaya. But the identification of the location of the Candrapuri viṣaya is vitally connected with the question of the extent of Kāmarūpa, during the reign of Bhūtiavarman and Bhāskaravarman. There are the following alternative suggestions regarding the location of the granted land :

(a) According to P. N. Bhattacharya, the boundary of Kāmarūpa, in those days, extended upto the river Karatoyā; because, in 643 A.D. Hiuen Tsang entered Kāmarūpa after crossing the river Kalotu. (*Śāsanāvali*, p. 5). It is conjectured by him that the donated land was situated by the side of the river Karatoyā. But it is not clear as to whether Candrapuri was situated to the west or to the east of the Karatoyā. In this context a reference is made to the occurrence of the name Candrapuri in the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla. (*Śāsanāvali*, p. 5, n. 2). In the said grant of Vanamāla, the granted land is said to be situated to the west of Trisrotā (i.e., Karatoyā). The said land has Candrapuri as the south-eastern boundary.⁶¹ Accordingly, Candrapuri should be to the west of Karatoyā (*trisrotāyāḥ paścimataḥ*). But if Candrapuri is to belong precisely to Kāmarūpa, it must be within the boundary, i.e., to the east of Karatoyā and not on the opposite side. P. N. Bhattacharya simply gives us to learn that the donated land was contiguous to the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. As a further evidence, it is pointed out that just as there is the mention of a Gaṅḍinikā, belonging to the Candrapuri viṣaya, there is mention of a Gaṅḍinikā, as belonging

⁶¹ त्रिखोतायाः पश्चिमतः सजलस्थलसंयुतं ।

अभिश्चरवाटकारव्यमष्टसीमापरिच्छदं ॥

पूर्वेण दशलाङ्गलसहसीमा पूर्वदक्षिणेन चन्द्रपुरि ससीमा दक्षिणेन अवारि ससीमा ।

(*Śāsanāvali*, p. 64)

also to the Puṇḍravardhana⁶² *bhūkti*, in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāladeva (circa 802 A.D.).⁶³ Because of the prevalence of this expression (i.e., *Gaṅginikā*) in both Puṇḍravardhana *bhūkti* and Candrapuri *viṣaya*, but nowhere in the rest of Kāmarūpa, it is conjectured that Candrapuri was contiguous to Puṇḍravardhana, and hence to the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 6). Similarity of the names, Mayūrasālmala (agrahāra) of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant and Mādhāsālmali (grāma) of the Khalimpur grant, also implies the aforesaid contiguity. (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 6). It is however not very clear from the words of P. N. Bhattacharyya, as to whether the implied contiguity is between Puṇḍravardhana and Candrapuri, or, between Mayūrasālmala agrahāra and Mādhāsālmali grāma.

(b) According to N. K. Bhattasali, J. C. Ghosh, and R. G. Bhandarkar, the Candrapuri *viṣaya* was in the Pañcakhaṇḍa Parganā of Sylhet, where the plates were found.⁶⁴ Their principal arguments are as follows :

The donated land is described to have the Śuṣkakaśikā as the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundary. This river Kauśikā may be identified with the river Kausiārā of Sylhet. J. C. Ghosh writes : 'By looking at the map of Sylhet we find that a river named Kusiārā is flowing by the north-west of Panchakhanda. This river is perhaps the Kauśikā mentioned in the plates, which probably gave up its former bed in the east and took the course of the dried up Gaṅginikā in the west after the grant of the plates.'⁶⁵ It is pointed out by J. C. Ghosh that Gāṅg is the name popularly applied to all rivers in Sylhet. Bhandarkar points out that there is also a particular river called Choṭa-Gāṅg in Sylhet. Hence, the Gaṅginikā, given in the Nidhanpur grant as the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundary of the donated land, should be some river of Sylhet itself.

⁶² "Puṇḍravardhana actually comprised the Bengal districts of Dinajpur, Maldah, Rajshahi and the western parts of Bogra and Rangpur, but the whole of the northern belt of modern Bengal comprising Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Bihar and part of Rangpur, was always within Kāmarūpa." K. L. Barua, 'Kauśikā and Kusiārā', *Indian Culture*, Vol. I. No. 3, Jan. 1935., and *Studies in the Early History of Assam*, p. 72.

⁶³ श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्धनभुक्त्यन्यःपातिग्याप्रतटीमण्डलसम्बद्धमहन्ताप्रताशविषये कौशिकश्च नाम-
ग्रामोऽस्य च सीमा पश्चिमेन गङ्गिनिका । (lines 30-32)

एवमादाशाल्मली नाम ग्रामः । अस्य चोत्तरेण गङ्गिनिका (lines 37-38).
(Raj Bali Pandey, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, pp. 227 f.)

⁶⁴ See, Kamalakanta Gupta, *Copper Plates of Sylhet*, p. 56 ; J. C. Ghosh, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI. p. 642 ; Bhandarkar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Book Review).

⁶⁵ Quoted by K. L. Barua. See *Studies in the Early History of Assam*, p. 69.

(c) Kamalakanta Gupta, in his book *Copper-plates of Sylhet* (1967), wants to locate the Candrapuri viṣaya of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant within Śrīhaṭṭamaṇḍala on the strength of certain data found in the Paścimbhāg copper plate of Śricandra. Śricandra (10th century A.D.) of Vikramapura (Rāmpāl area) "donated major portion of the land of *Candrapuraviṣaya* within Śrīhaṭṭamaṇḍala under Puṇḍravardhanabhūkti⁶⁶ to six thousand Brāhmaṇas of different gotras, bearing surnames Gupta, Śarmā, Datta, Nāga, Nandī, Pāla, Ghoṣa, Dāma, Kara, Dhara, along with others without surnames." The Candrapuri viṣaya of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant, mentioned without the relevant maṇḍala and bhūkti may be identified with the Candrapura viṣaya of the Paścimbhāg C. P. grant because of the similarity in respect of most of the surnames and gotras. The six thousand Brāhmaṇas of the Paścimbhāg C. P. grant may be supposed to be mostly the descendants of the fewer Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Nidhanpur C. P. grant, who must have duly multiplied in course of the three centuries.

Kamala Kaṇṭha Gupta also prints out that "when a river changes its course, a portion of the old abandoned bed silted upon two ends is generally called *gaṅgiṇī* or *gaṅginā* in Sylhet District also." (*Copper-Plates of Sylhet*, p. 55)

It may be added here that the village Mādhāśālmali of the Khalimpur grant belongs to the Puṇḍra vardhana *bhūkti*, though the maṇḍala and the viṣaya, to which it belongs, cannot be precisely gathered from the said grant. On the other hand the Candrapura viṣaya of the Paścimbhāg C. P. grant belongs to the Puṇḍravardhana *bhūkti*. If we want to identify Mayūraśālmala agrahāra with the village Mādhāśālmali, both the places appear to have a common *viṣaya*, viz. Candrapuri or Candrapura, and a common *bhūkti*, viz. Puṇḍravardhana. Hence, we may presume that the Mayūraśālmala agrahāra belonged to the Candrapura viṣaya of the Śrīhaṭṭa *maṇḍala* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhūkti*. Just as Mayūraśālmala is surrounded by Gaṅginikā on the north-west, west and south-west, the village Mādhāśālmali is also marked by Gaṅginikā on north (line 38) and west (lines 39-40 of the Khalimpur grant). Since Gaṅginikā means a dry river-bed in general, and since such a river is very likely to be covered up by vegetations in course of time, the absence of Gaṅginikā to the south-west of Mādhāśālmali after more than 100 years in time of Dharmapāla can be easily explained. Thus Candrapuri of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant and Candrapura of the Paścimbhāg C. P. grant may be taken to be identical. Since the kings of eastern India were frequently defeating one another in those days, as evidenced by respective records, it is not unlikely that the same

⁶⁶ श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनसुत्तयन्तःपाति श्रीहृदमण्डलसातलवर्गजसम्बद्धअर्बोडकासमेतगरलाविषय-
पोगारविषयचन्द्रपुरविषयेषु । (lines 27-28)

Candrapura viṣaya was ruled by Bhūtivarman, Bhāskaravarman, Dharmapāla and Śrīcandra at different times. There is a little difference in the names Candrapura and Candrapuri, and it is possible to call the same place with these slightly different names, just as Bhūtivarman is called Bhūtavarman, and Sthitivarman is called Sthitavarman in different records. The location of the donated land in Śrīhaṭṭa also explains the find of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant in the Pañcakhaṇḍa itself.

(d) In the opinion of K. L. Barua,⁶⁷ the donated land was situated within the 'present' district of Purnea in Bihar. His principal arguments are as follows :

River Śuṣka Kauśikā, given as the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundary of the donated land should be identified with the river Kośī of the Purnea district of Bihar. Kauśikā cannot be identified with the river Kuśiārā of the Sylhet district. Phonetically the word Kauśikā is more akin to Kośī than to Kusiārā. "The river Barak, debouching from the Lushai Hills, runs from east to west. After leaving Badarpur it bifurcates into two streams, both flowing practically east to west. The northern stream is called Surma while the southern stream is called Kusiārā. . . . The Kosī (Kauśikī) in North Bihar, on the other hand, proceeds from the Himalayas on the north and runs southwards to meet the Ganges. This river now runs almost due south from Varāha Chatra, but in the old days it followed a course towards the south-east and fell into the Ganges much lower down." The Kusiārā, which runs practically from east to west, could not have formed the north-eastern and south-eastern boundary of the donated land. It must have been possible only on the part of a river like Kosī of Bihar, running from north to south. In Dr. Francis Buchanan's account of the Purnea district of Bihar,⁶⁸ it is observed that the river Kosi "in stead of running almost directly south to join the Ganges as it does at present, formerly proceeded from Chatra to the eastward and joined the Ganges far below." While receding from its former course towards south east to its present course the river has left several old dry channels lying almost parallel to one another. These

⁶⁷ *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, pp. 32-34; 'Stray notes on Buchanan's Account of Purnea', *JARS*, Vol. I. No. 2, July 1933, pp. 44-46; 'Kāmarūpa in the Sixth Century, A.D.', *Ibid*, No. 3, October 1933, pp. 55-68; 'Kauśikā and Kuśiārā', *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3, January 1935, pp. 421-32; 'Kauśikā or Kauśkī', *JARS*, Vol. III, No. 1, April 1935, pp. 18-21; 'Nāgar Brāhman and Sylhet (A Rejoinder)', *Indian Culture*, Vol. I. No. 4, April 1935, pp. 701-2; 'Kauśikā or Kauśikī', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II. No. 1, July 1935, pp. 139-40; 'Kauśikī and Kuśiārā (A Rejoinder)', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II. No. 1, July 1935, p. 171. All the papers of K. L. Barua are now available in his *Studies in the Early History of Assam*, ed. Maheswar Neog, Assam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat—Gauhati, 1972.

⁶⁸ Ed. by V. H. Jackson and published in 1928.

dry beds of Kosi are still called Burhī, the old, or Marā, the dead Kosi. The Suṣkakaśikā and the Gaṅgiṇikā are two such dry beds of the same river Kosi, and forming the eastern boundary in the shape of a small bracket and the other forming the western boundary in the form of another small bracket, running parallel to the former. It may be presumed that in the time of Bhūtiavarman a living Kauśikā formed the eastern boundary, but by the time of Bhāskaravarman, it dried up and that is why there is the reference to a *Kauśikopacitakakṣetra* in line 126 of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant. In time of Bhūtiavarman the western boundary might have been something else. That is why in time of Bhāskaravarman, the word *adhunā* (now) is significantly used while indicating the western boundary (line 130). The ancient river which is now identified with Kosi of Bihar used to be called Kauśikā as well as Kauśikī. If the donated land is located in the Purnea district, the Candrapuri viṣaya, to which the land belonged may also be located in the Purnea district, which lies to the west of the river Karatoyā (also called Trisrotā). Candrapuri, given as the south eastern boundary of the land donated by the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla, may be supposed to be identical with the Candrapuri of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant to confirm the location of the same in the Purnea district. Candrapuri is not stated to be just on the bank of the Trisrotā, but it is *roughly* indicated that the donated land was lying to the west of Trisrotā.⁶⁹

K. L. Barua observes that "there is really no good evidence to prove conclusively that the district of Sylhet formed a part of Kāmarūpa in the sixth or the seventh century A.D. so that either Mahābhūtarman or Bhāskaravarman could donate lands there to Brahmins. . . . There never was any easy communication between Sylhet and Kamrup in the past". It is further observed that P. N. Bhattacharya has, in his *Kāmarūpa Śāsanavalī* (pp. 4-9), "tried to establish that Sylhet was a separate kingdom in the beginning of the seventh century and that even Yuan-Chwang

⁶⁹ From the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, we learn about three Trisrotās. The first one described in K. P. 77.12 (द्वापरस्य तु या गङ्गा त्रिःस्रोताख्या सरिद्वरा) may be identified with the modern Teesta of the Jalpaiguri district of N. Bengal. The second one, described in K. P. 78.41-2 (तदा तत्त्वाहये शैले श्रीसूर्योऽपि व्यवस्थितः त्रिःस्रोता नाम यस्यास्ति नदी पूर्वदिशि स्थिता ॥) seems to be a less celebrated river, which may be located somewhere in the Goalpara district, and the third one described in K.P. 80.4 (सरित् तु सिद्धा त्रिःस्रोता दक्षिणोदधिगामिनी । शृङ्गाटकस्य सततं स्रवन्ती सा तु पादतः) may be identified with the modern Dhirai river lying near Tezpur. Because of being called Siddhā Trisrotā, the third one cannot be the Trisrotā mentioned in the Tezpur Plates of Vanamāla. The first one is most likely to be referred to because of its greater celebrity so as to be called the Gangā of Dvāpara.

made separate mention of Sylhet (Shil-hi-cha-to-lo)" In the *Yoginitantra* (second half-first Paṭala) also Sylhet and Kamarūpa are separately mentioned.⁷⁰ Sylhet need not be supposed to have been included in Kāmarūpa for justifying Yuan-Chwang's statement that Kāmarūpa was really 1,700 miles in circuit. Because, "Yuan-Chwang came to Kāmarūpa when Bhaskaravarman was ruling and after Bhaskaravarman had conquered both Gauḍa and Kārṇasuvarṇa. At that time, therefore, Kāmarūpa extended far to the west of the Karatoyā and it included the modern Assam valley, the whole of North Bengal and the eastern part of North Bihar as far as the Kosi, a part of Bhutan and Morang, a part of Bengal to the south of the Ganges (Kārṇasuvarṇa), and Mymensing. This kingdom was 1,700 miles in circuit."

It is further argued that the "donated lands need not necessarily be located in the neighbourhood of the find-place of the original copper-plates." There are evidences of copper plates being discovered far away from the donated lands. For example, the plates of Vaidyadeva's grant donating lands in the district of Kamarup were discovered in Kamauli in the U. P. In the opinion of K. L. Barua, the land donated by the Nidhanpur Plates was in the eastern part of Mithila. "The Panchakhaṇḍa Brāhmaṇs claim their origin from Mithilā. It is quite possible that certain descendants of the original grantees migrated from Eastern Mithila to Sylhet and carried with them the copperplates which were regarded as heirlooms."⁷¹

It may be added here that according to K. L. Barua, the kingdom of Bhāskaravarman extended far beyond the Karatoyā. Hence, we have to presume that when Hiuen Tsang records that he crossed the Karatoyā to enter Kāmarūpa, he means to indicate only the traditional boundary of Kāmarūpa and not the then existing one.⁷²

After considering the above select arguments and counter arguments we feel inclined to conclude that most probably the land donated by the Nidhanpur C. P. grant was situated in the modern Purnea district of Bihar, and this conclusion, however, need not necessarily lead us to form an opinion that the kingdom of Bhāskaravarman did not include the modern district of Śrīhaṭṭa.

७० ऐशान्यां पूर्वभागे च कामरूपं विजानिहि ।***

श्रीहट्टमपि पूर्वे च *** ॥

⁷¹ *Studies in the Early History of Assam*, p. 74.

⁷² The traditional boundary is given in the *Yogini Tantra* (First half : XI Paṭala) as follows :

करतोयां समाश्रित्य यावद्विक्रवासिनीम् ।***

दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य लान्तायाः सङ्गमावधि ॥

Literary standard of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant :

The author of the Nidhanpur grant gives the first verse in Vamśasthavila and all other verses composed by himself in the Āryā metre uniformly. Āryā is a shorter metre giving smaller room for many words and the author could contain his larger ideas in smaller verses only because he was skilled in the use of choicest words having pun. This is an unquestionable mark of his literary craftsmanship. Since the Dubi C. P. grant was composed earlier during the reign of Bhāskara and hence earlier than *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, there is no mark of the influence of Bāṇa's style. But since the Nidhanpur C. P. was composed in the later part of the reign of Bhāskara and most probably later than *Harṣacarita*, it appears to bear some probable marks of the influence of Bāṇa's style both in the prose and the verse portions. The word *Abhyamitriyā* is very rare. But it occurs in V. 9 of the Nidhanpur c. p. It seems that it has been borrowed by the author of the c. p. from that portion of the *Harṣacarita*, where there is a respectful reference to the Kāmarūpa kings.⁷³

The author of the c. p. gives certain beautiful alamkāras like, Anuprāsa, Laṭānuprāsa, Śleṣa, Pūrnopamā, Vyatireka, Apahnuti, etc., which we will see verse by verse below.

NOTES IN DETAIL

- V. 1. The word *bhūtimatām* has a pun. *Bhūti*=prosperity, whence we have the meaning 'the prosperous Brāhmins'; and *bhūti* also means ashes, whence we have 'the Brāhmins carrying the ashes, i.e., ruins of the damaged or burnt up c. p. issued to them earlier by king Bhūti-varman. The word *bhūtimatām* may also be taken as an adjective of *sphutavācam* (the well known word) whence we may have the meaning that the well known words have the approval also of the late king Bhūti-varman. *Bhūtimatām*=*Bhuteḥ sammatām*, where *Bhūti*=Bhūti-varman. The shortening of the name is according to the maxim, *nāmaikadeśagrahaṇena nāmamātragrahaṇam*.⁷⁴ If we accept both sets of meaning as contextual then we will conventionally have a Śleṣa alamkāra.
- V. 2. This verse has also a lot of pun. The adjectives may be applicable also to the (original) patron king Bhūti-varman. *Parameśvara*

⁷³ आत्मनाऽपि ततः प्रभुनि प्रयाणकैः अनवरतैः अभ्यमित्रं प्रावर्तत, H. C. VII (P. 810 in Jivānanda's edn.) The word occurs also in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*; but the possibility of the word being borrowed from that Kāvya is very remote.

⁷⁴ cf. Dr. K. C. Chatterjee's notes on "अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोत्र द्रष्टव्यः अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्ध इति । तद् यथा देवदत्तो दत्तः सत्यभामा भामेति ।" (*Mahābhāṣya, Paspāṣā*, p. 50 in Dr. K. C. Chatterjee's edn.)

may mean the king; for, there was a convention of the Kāmarūpa kings being referred to like that. cf. *Śrīmatparameśvara-pādānām dvātriṃśannāmānyamuni* in the second c. p. (i.e., the Guwākuci c. p. grant) of Indrapāla below.⁷⁵ *Bhogin*=a man having enjoyment. *Bhogīśvara*=the chief among the man having enjoyment.⁷⁵ *Bhogīśvarakṛtapari-karam*=the king who was surrounded by the chief of the (rich) men having enough enjoyment. (It is suggested that the kingdom was full of prosperity and opulence.) *Ikṣaṇajitakāmarūpam*=the king who has won over the (heart of) Kāmarūpa with his (very pleasant) look alone. *Avimuktam*=the king who is never forsaken by his subjects out of love and devotion. *Nijabhūtibhūṣitam*=the appearance (i.e., figure) of the king is embellished by his own glamour. *Avimukta* as applying to Lord Śiva means 'not forsaken by the devotees' and 'not forsaken by his consort Pārvatī in his *ardhanārīśvara* form'. This may also have a remote reference to the Avimukteśvara Śiva of Vārāṇasī. The word *avimukta* means Vārāṇasī also. cf.

मुने प्रलयकालेऽपि तु तत् क्षेत्रं कदाचन ।

विमुक्तं न शिवाभ्यां यदविमुक्तं ततो विदुः ॥

(स्कन्दपुराणे काशीखण्डे २६ अध्यायः ।)

The classical Sanskrit poets have made much capital out of the homonyms *bhogī* and *bhūti*. For almost a similar idea compare the following verse from *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, chap. II.

दुर्गलघितविग्रहो मनसिजं संमिलयंस्तेजसा

प्रोद्यद्वाजकलो गृहीतगरिमा विष्वग्द्रुतो भोगिभिः ।

नक्षत्रेशकृतेक्षणो गिरिगुरौ गाढां रुचिं धारयन्

गामाक्रम्य विभूतिभूषिततन् राजत्युमाबल्लभः ॥

Compare also भोगवती भोगवतीभूतेः in V. 16 of this very C. P. grant.

If we take the two sets of meaning applicable respectively to Śiva and the king to be *contextual*, we will have a conventional śleṣa alaṅkāra. But in my opinion here we do not have śleṣa, since the meaning, applicable to the king cannot be taken to be contextual. It is a maṅgala verse paying homage to Śiva, the family god of the Kāmarūpa kings. The word *jayati* implies a salute.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ cf. तस्यां तस्य महेश्वरस्य वशिनी देवस्य देव्यां शुभौ in V. 62 of Dubi c.p.

⁷⁶ Or the vassal kings (*iśvaras*) who had many ways and means for enjoyment.

⁷⁷ Compare Mammaṭa's Vṛtti on his *maṅgala* verse (finishing with the words 'bhārati kaverjayati'), जयत्यर्थेन च नमस्कार आक्षिप्यत इति तां प्रत्यस्मि प्रणत इति लभ्यते । (*Kāvyaaprakāśa*, I)

There would have been no propriety in the author's saluting the patron king primarily in the second verse itself when he has yet to salute Lord Dharma in the following verse; and hence, the meaning applicable to the king is non-contextual. After we are given the contextual idea of a salute to Śiva we will also be given the idea of the patron king by homonymous words. Thus we will have the suggested idea of a similarity (*sādrśya*) between Śiva and the king and hence we find here an Upamādhvani based on *śabdaśakti*⁷⁸.

- V. 3. The word *jayati* is used here in the sense of a salute as in the *maṅgala* verse of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

Dharma is *parahitamūrti* (i.e., it is *visible* in the form of good done to others) and yet it is said to be *adr̥ṣṭa* (i.e., *invisible*). This gives a Virodhābhāsa alaṅkāra.

The present salute to Dharma is very significant. As this verse occurs in the body of a land-grant, the word *dharma* appears to imply simply the merit (*adr̥ṣṭa* or *apūrva*) that results from noble deeds like *bhūmidāna*. K. L. Barua believes that "here we have a clear reference to the Law of Buddha." (*EHK*, p. 97f). P. N. Bhattacharya opines that Bhāskara adopted the faith in order to gain popularity in Kārnasuvarṇa. (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 71f). But, according to P. C. Choudhury "the reference here is hardly to any faith; nor does the passage contain an invocation of Śiva, as suggested by N. N. Dasgupta" in *I.H.Q.*, XXVI, pp. 333-36. (*HPCA*, p. 405). It was too early for the present reference to *dharma* to have anything to do with the later tradition of *dharma-pūjā*, the origin and development of which is discussed by Maheswar Neog in the paper, 'the worship of Dharma in Assam, with notice of lyrics used in the ritual'. (Vide *The Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Calcutta, Vol. XVII. No. 3. 1951).⁷⁹

- V. 4. There is an *Apahnuṭi* alaṅkāra in *Kapaṭakolarūpasya*. *Pārthiva-vṛndāraka* may also mean "a god on the earth", having an echo of the traditional conception of divine origin of kings. cf. "देवा मानुष-रूपेण चरन्त्येते महीतले" (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhā*, 18. 42),

"महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति" (*Manu Saṁhitā*, VII. 8), and

"लोकसमयविक्रयानुविधानमात्रमानुषस्य लोकधाम्नो देवस्य"

(Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, line 28.)

⁷⁸ For a detailed technical information about this type of suggested Upamā based on *śabdaśakti* see, Mukunda Madhava Sharma, *The Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics* pp. 95-107.

⁷⁹ See also *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Lucknow, Vol. IV. Nos. 3-4, (1951).

- V. 5. There is Yamaka alamkāra in *adr̥ṣṭanarakānnarakād* and *Khyātajayam vijayam*.
- V. 6. There is a Lātānuprāsa in *vajragatir-vajradatta* as the word *vajra* has the same meaning in both the places, and there is a Chekānuprāsa in *śatamakhamakhaṇḍa*. From the view point of literary criticism, the Yamakas in v. 5. and the Lātānuprāsa in v. 5 and 6 are very appropriate since the two verses are concerned with the description of two heroes (*vīras*) connected with a *Vīrarasa*, i.e., the heroic sentiment. Compare, Indrapāla's Gauhati C. P. grant, v. 8.
- V. 7. In - - - *samudraḥ samudravarmā* there is a Lātānuprāsa. There is *Utpreksā* alamkāra in *pañcama iva hi samudraḥ*. There is a suggestion that there are certain differences between the four great celebrated *samudras* and the present fifth one. The four celebrated *samudras* have *mātsyanyāya* while the fifth *samudra* is free from *mātsyanyāya*. While the former have hidden treasures (*ratna*) the latter has them lying open (*prakāśaratna*). While the former are *dvairathaguru* (i.e., heavy with the tussle of the waves) the latter is *dvairathalaghu* (i.e., brisk in duels). Thus we have a suggested *Vyāyeka* alamkāra. *Mātsyanyāya* literally means 'the law of the fish.' It is a state of anarchy occurring due to the inefficiency of the ruling king, in which strong oppresses the weak, just as the big fishes swallow the smaller ones. Kauṭilya observes that if *daṇḍa* (punishment) is not properly administered it causes a *mātsyanyāya*. It is a state of anarchy when the strong devours the weak, due to the absence of any body to hold the rod of punishment. cf.
- “अप्रणोतोहि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति । बलीयान् अबलं हि ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे”
(Arthaśāstra, I. 1). *Kāmandakiya Nitisāra* (II. 40) defines *mātsyanyāya* as follows :
- परस्पराभिषतया जगतो भिन्नवर्त्मनः ।
दण्डाभावे परिध्वंसी मात्स्यो न्यायः प्रवर्तते ॥ (II. 40)
- Compare,
मात्स्यन्यायमपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लक्ष्म्याः करं ग्राहितः
श्रीगोपाल इति क्षितीशशिरसां चूडामणिस्तत्सुतः ।
(Khalimpur c. p. of Dharmapāla, V. 4.)⁸⁰
- V. 9. There is again a Lātānuprāsa in *अविखण्डितबलवर्मा बलवर्मा*, and this is also very appropriate in the context of the description of an able hero.

⁸⁰ Rajbali Pandey, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, p. 225.

- V. 10. "Who was not the abode of even very small faults" may seem to imply that it is an attempt at white washing some of his faults. But in fact the absence of *doṣa* (flaw) is recorded here rather as a great positive quality (*guṇa*). In this connection we may compare an observation that "*doṣa* is to be avoided by all means since it is detrimental to *rasa*. But even in the absence of any other *guṇa* the 'absence of *doṣa*' itself is a great *guṇa*."

दोषस्सर्वात्मना त्याज्यः रसहानिकरो हि सः ।

अन्यो गुणोऽस्तु मा वास्तु महान्निर्दोषता गुणः ॥

(Quoted by Keśavamiśra in his *Alaṁkāraśekhara*).⁸¹

- V. 11. This is a Pūrṇopamā alaṁkāra based on Śleṣa. The conspicuity of Yamaka with *gaṇapati* and *gaṇa* and the Anuprāsa of *na* are remarkable.
- V. 12. There is a Yamaka of *Yajñavatī* and *Yajña* and two Upamās in *Yajñavatīva* and *analamīva* respectively.
- V. 13. *Bhūvaḥ sthitaye Nārāyaṇavarmānam*, suggests identity of the king with Nārāyaṇa⁸² (i.e., Viṣṇu) who being one of the trinity is responsible for the *sthiti* (maintenance) of the creation. In *janakamī-vādhigatasāṁkhyārtham* there is Upamā alaṁkāra. *Sāṁkhyārtha* may mean 'the wealth (*artha*) of the war (*sāṁkhyā*)' for, *sāṁkhyā* means the war and *sāṁkhyā* may mean something connected with the war. Thus *adhigatasāṁkhyārtha* also may mean, 'one who has acquired a rich booty in the battle.' The other plain meaning that the king was at home in the lore of Sāṁkhyā philosophy is also very significant, in so far as it is a pointer to the fact that Sāṁkhyā used to be studied in Assam in the 5th century A.D., the date of Nārāyaṇavarman. cf. *sāṁkhyorunakro* in V. 55 of the Dubi c. p. above. *Sāṁkhyārtha* also may mean the 'lore of the battle' or the 'science of warfare'. Janaka was an authority on Sāṁkhyā. Compare the conversation between Janaka and Yājñavalkya in *Mahābhārata*, Śānti parvan, chapters 310 to 318.
- V. 14. In *prakṛtirīva*, etc., there is an Upamā alaṁkāra and in *ṣaṣṭhamīva mahābhūtam*, there is an Utprekṣā alaṁkāra. According to the interpretation of P. N. Bhattacharya, Devavatī conceived Mahābhūta-varman from him (i.e., Nārāyaṇavarman) in the manner of Prakṛti conceiving the sixth great element from the Puruṣa. This leads to a doubt as to how far the Puruṣa, who is said to be *niṣkriya* (i.e.,

⁸¹ See V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 209.

⁸² Cf. vv. 26, 27, 28 in the Dubi C. P.

without any action), is responsible for the evolution of the elements? The Puruṣa is not the *upādānakāraṇa*. Puruṣa is said to be neither a Prakṛti nor a Vikṛti (*Sāṃkhyakārika*, 3), and hence nothing can evolve out of Puruṣa. We also cannot be satisfied to understand that Mahābhūtavarman was conceived for the continuation of the *sthira guṇas* (i.e., stable qualities) of the queen herself, because in none of the earlier verses we hear of any laudable quality of the queen and it is also not conventional to speak of a son inheriting the qualities of a mother.

We also cannot ordinarily take the qualities as belonging to the king Nārāyaṇavarman who is compared with Puruṣa, who is said to be *nirguṇa*. Moreover, it is not a case of mere comparison, but more a case of identification on the strength of the suggestion in the earlier verse and the use of the term '*tasya pumsaḥ*' in the present verse, where the word *tasya* is for *prasiddha parāmarśa* and the two words together are competent to mean the Paramapuruṣa (Nārāyaṇa). Because of these difficulties, I suggest a different meaning: Prakṛti, here, means *vyaktā prakṛti* and Puruṣa (Pumān) here means Prakṛti in 'avyakta' stage. In the 'avyakta' stage Puruṣa (or Pumān) and Prakṛti are identical.⁸³ But in 'avyakta' stage also Prakṛti has the three guṇas in equilibrium. (*Sāmyāvasthā*).⁸⁴ Hence, these *guṇas*, being in equilibrium (*sthira guṇa*), may also be attributed loosely to Puruṣa, identical with Mūla-Prakṛti in the 'avyakta' stage. Thus 'vyaktā' Prakṛti conceives the evolved elements from 'avyaktā' Prakṛti, identical with Puruṣa. Here, we have understood the term '*sthira guṇa*' as meaning the 'three guṇas in equilibrium'. But the different elements evolve only as a result of some disturbance in that stage of equilibrium, and the evolved elements do not have *sthira-guṇas*. That is why in case of the five ordinary 'great elements' there is no *anubandha* of *sthiraguṇa*, whereas, the case with Mahābhūtavarman is different. He is imagined as the sixth *mahābhūta*—quite likely to be different in nature from the other great elements and as such capable of retaining the *sthiraguṇas* in the evolved stage also. For interpreting the simile as free from a fault apprehended earlier—P. N. Bhattacharyya explains Prakṛti referred to here as *ahamkāra*, wherefrom the five great elements evolved directly. (*KŚ*, p. 30 n. 3.). But in my opinion there is nothing in the verse to recognise the Prakṛti as *kāraṇa*, and hence, we are not under any compulsion to understand Prakṛti as the immediate antecedent of the Mahābhūta and to drag in a far-fetched meaning. From the term '*dadhau*' we may under-

⁸³ Radhanath Phukan *Vedānta-vācaspati*, *Sāṃkhyadarśana*, p. 61.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91. Vide also *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90, 102, 103, etc.

stand that Prakṛti was responsible for the evolution of the great element, though not directly, but in the order of *Mahat-Ahaṁkāra-Pañcatanmātra* and *Pañcamahābhūta*. This explanation, however, solely hinges on the explanation of the *Sāṁkhya-kārikās* by Radhanah Phukan Vedanta Vācaspati, which is very much convincing, although showing a wide aberration from the conventional interpretation of Sāṁkhya.

- V. 15. There is Yamaka in *Kalākalāpa* and Upamā in *dyauriva*.
- V. 16. There is Laṭānuprāsa in '*bhogavatī bhogavatī*' and a Pūrṇopamā based on Śleṣa in the whole verse.
- V. 17. There is Anuprāsa of *ṅka*. There is a Pūrṇopamā based on Śleṣa in the earlier part and in the second half (*kṣīrodadheriva nṛpād*) *akalaṅkaśrīmṛgāṅko'bhūt* there is a Vācya Virodhābhāsa and a suggested Vyatireka taking Śrīmṛgāṅka, the king and the moon as *upameya* and *upamāna* respectively.
- V. 18. There is Adhika alaṁkāra in *svabāhudhṛtarājyaḥ*.
- V. 19. *Pratyurasam* is an Avyayībhāva compound and clearly means (playing) 'in every bosom' and suggests the coquettish nature of Lakṣmī. The purport of the verse is that Nārāyaṇa holds Lakṣmī with all affection in spite of her coquettish nature in the manner of a miser who is blindly in love with his wealth. But in contrast with Nārāyaṇa, king Śrīmṛgāṅka had the least attachment for her and made her available to his supplicants without any hesitation. The verse is very rich in suggestion. The coquettish nature of Lakṣmī, as suggested, is already pointed out. 'Kṣītiriva' means 'in the manner of a cheap lump of earth' (*nṛtpiṇḍavat*) and suggests the non-attachment of the king, or it may also be suggested that his wealth was as vast as the earth, but was given over to others without any hesitation. In both cases we have two rich Upamās. Because of the contrast between Śrīmṛgāṅka and Nārāyaṇa we also have a Vyatireka-dhvani.
- V. 20. P. N. Bhattacharyya gives the translation as सत्य युगोद्भव (श्यामार) न्याय श्यामा देवी. Here Kārttayugī has nothing to do with the birth of the moon. The simile of Supratisthitavarman with the moon (*śasī*) does not require to be explained as being due to a relative simile between Kārttayugī and Śyāmādevī. The comparison of Supratisthita with the moon is necessary for explaining the propriety in referring to the rise of the king as in the following verse यत्प्रतिपत्तिः परार्था विद्याधरचक्रवर्तिसेव्यस्य etc. Now what is the significance of the expression Kārttayugīva Śyāmādevī? Kārttayugī is a

goddess identical with goddess Śyāmā, for, Śyāmā can be equated with Kālī who is the same with Kṛtyā. (Cf. कृत्या क्रियादेवतयोस्त्रिषु भेदे घनादिभिः, *Amara*). This very goddess is referred to as Satyā in *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa 6/25, 26. cf.

प्रणतश्च यथा मूर्ध्ना तव देवी सुरेश्वरि ।

त्राहि मां पद्मपत्राक्षि सत्ये सत्या भवस्व नः ॥

शरणं भव मे दुर्गे शरण्ये भक्तवत्सले ॥

Hence, the meaning is that queen Śyāmādevī, who was almost identical with Kārttayugī (i.e., the goddess Kṛtyā=Śyāmā) gave birth to Supra-tiṣṭhita, who was similar to the Moon for dispelling the darkness (of ignorance).⁸⁵ There is also the evidence of Supra-tiṣṭhita dispelling the darkness through learning in the following verse. cf. विद्याधरचक्रवर्तिसेव्यस्य यस्य (V. 21).

There seems to be an Upamā in 'Kārttayugīva Śyāmādevī'. But why should the author use the rare word Kārttayugī and not mention directly the goddess Śyāmā herself when the name of the queen itself is sufficient to give the idea of the goddess Śyāmā, as both the words Śyāmā and devī are homonymous? Thus through *śabdaśakti* we could also gather an idea of *sādṛśya* and the resultant suggested Upamā. But an idea of *sādṛśya* inherent in the Upamā does not remove the idea of the basic difference between the two objects said to be similar; for, the definition of *sādṛśya* is तद्भिन्नत्वे सति तद्गतभूयोधर्मवत्त्वम् (*Bhāṣāpariccheda*. I).

Our poet is not desiring such a simile. He is incined more towards an identity between the goddess and the queen and hence, gives us an Utprekṣā,⁸⁶ meaning thereby that 'queen Śyāmādevī (who is also a goddess, i.e., devī) is as it were the goddess (Śyāmā=Kṛtyā) associated with the satyayuga (i.e., Satyā of *Mahābhārata*) herself. Without fearing any tautology the poet could say 'Śyāmādevī iva Śyāmādevī' as he said in case of 'bhogavatī bhogavatī bhūteḥ,' etc. in verse No. 16. He did not do so presumably because the word Śyāmā has got a pretty good number of meanings⁸⁷ and our poet wanted to refer specifically to Śyāmādevī, the

⁸⁵ Darkness stands for ignorance also in the western thought. Cf. Wordsworth's poem "Afflictions of Margaret."

⁸⁶ Also elsewhere, I have shown, how greatly significant an Utprekṣā alamkāra can be. Vide my paper "A suggestion as to the relation between Cārudatta and Mṛchakaṭikā", *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. IX. No. 1.

⁸⁷ *Amara* gives the meanings of Śyāmā as follows—

“श्यामा तु महिलाह्वया लता गोवन्दनी गुन्द्रा प्रियङ्गुः फलिनी फली । विष्वक्सेना गन्धफली कारम्भा प्रियक्वथ सा ॥” “गोपी श्यामा शारिवा स्यादनन्तोत्पलशारिवा ।” “शमा स्याच्छारिवा निशा ॥”

goddess Kṛtyā. In the second half of the verse there is a clear Upamā.

V. 21. The Kulācalas are named as follows :

महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः ।

विन्धश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥

Along with the Himālaya the number of Kulācalas is fixed also at eight. In this verse there is an Upamā based on Śleṣa.

V. 22. There is a Lāṭānuprāsa in *Śrībhāskaravarmānam bhāskaramiva* and in the whole verse there is an Upamā. It is very nice that Bhāskara is compared to the sun while the elder brother was compared to the moon.

V. 23. In the portion एकोऽपि हि यः पुंसां हृदयेष्वभिलक्षितः there is a suggestion in respect of Bhāskara's similarity with the Supreme Self. cf. एकोऽपि सन् यो बहुधाऽवभाति in the *śruti* and उपाधितुल्यतया भासमाने प्रतिविम्बे आभासो रूपसूर्यकादिवत् (in the *com.* of Vācaspati) and the ब्रह्मसूत्र s "आभास एव च" ॥ (ब्र. सू. 2/3/50) and "अत एव चोपमा 'सूर्यकादिवत्'" (ब्र. सू. 3/2/18) which are the basis of the आभासवाद and compare also एक एव हि भूतात्मा भूते भूते व्यवस्थितः । एकधा बहुधा चैव दृश्यते जलचन्द्रवत् ॥ (ब्रह्मविन्दु-

12, quoted in the *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* of Vijñānāhikṣu on *Sāṃkhyasūtras*), which very clearly echoes the idea contained in the present verse of the inscription. For the suggestion that the patron king himself is like the Supreme Self in the portion *eko'pihi*, etc. cf.

एवं यः परमात्मवत् पृथुगुणो ह्येकोप्यनेकी भवन् ।

प्राकाम्यन्दधदेवभाति भुवने स स्यात् श्रिये शङ्करः ॥

(Bargāon c.p. of Ratnapāla, V. 1)

V. 24. This verse also presents a similar Upamā and strengthens Bhāskara's similarity with the Supreme Self and this verse also calls for a comparison with the *ābhāsavāda*, referred to above.

V. 25. There is a *Pūrṇopamā* based on Śleṣa, quite in tune with Bāṇas style.

1. 35. There is a Śleṣa in *udayānuraktamaṇḍala*.

1. 36. Śleṣa in *karanīkaravitarāṇa*.

1. 37. There is a suggested Vyatireka in *svabhujabalatulita* . . .

1. 40. Rūpaka in *nutivacana*..... *avatamsāṅkaḥ* and Upamā in *śiviriva*. For the allusion to Śivi see *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parvan, ch. 196-197.

1. 41. The *guṇas* referred to here are the six aspects of polity concerning foreign policy. cf. 'सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाष्वाङ्गुण्यम्' इत्याचार्यः।
(*Arthaśāstra*. VII. 1)

1. 42. It is better to take *suragururivāparaḥ* and *parairavahitaprabhāvaḥ* as separate epithets. In the former there is an *Utprekṣā*, and it is very natural on the part of the poet to make this reference to *suraguru* *Brhaspati* since he had an occasion to quote two verses from the *Brhaspati Smṛti* (vv. 38 and 40 of the *Āpaddharmakāṇḍa*)⁸⁸ The latter taken separately would mean that the king's prowess was known to the enemies.

1. 43. There is an *Anuprāsa* of *rya* in l. 42-43 in *śaurya* *śauṣṭīrya* ; an *Utprekṣā* in *nirākṛtairiva* . . For the concept of *pratipakṣasamīśrayanirākṛta* see *Pātañjala Yogadarśhana*, 2.33-34.

- II. 44-45. A *Samāsokti* based on *Atiśayokti* in *kāmarūpalakṣmīsamāliṅga*, etc.

Ābhigāmikagūṇa means 'certain attractive qualities' of the king. (*Glossary*, p. 1). It is interesting that in this inscription the author severally employs technical terms taken directly from the works on polity. The *ābhigāmika* qualities are also given in the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (ch. IV) as follows :

कुलं सत्त्वं वयः शीलं दाक्षिण्यं क्षिप्रकारिता ।
अविसंवादिता सत्यं बृद्धसेवा कृतज्ञता ॥
देवसम्पन्नता बुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिवारता ।
शक्यसामन्तता चैव तथा च दृढभक्तिता ॥
दीर्घदृष्टित्वमुत्साहः शुचिता स्यूलक्षता ।
विनीतता धार्मिकता गुणाः साध्वभिगामिकाः ॥
गुणैरैतैरूपेतः सन् सुव्यक्तमभिगम्यते ।
तथा च कुर्वीत यथा गच्छेलोकाभिगम्यताम् ॥ (VV. 6-9)

1. 46. *Utprekṣā* in समुच्छ्रास हव भगवतो धर्मस्य

1. 51. *Agrahāraḥkṣetra* = rent-free land given to *Brāhmaṇas*. (*Glossary*, p. 10). 'A grant of land given by kings (to *Brāhmaṇas*) for sustenance' (Apte). The term occurs also in the *Daśakumāracarita*, 8.9. V. B. Misra takes the term to mean an administrative unit, a *tahsil*, so to say, smaller than a *Viṣaya*. Accordingly the *Agrahāras* consisted of a number of villages. (Vide, *The Gurjara-Pratihāras and their times*, S. Chand & Co. 1966, p. 65).

⁸⁸ See *Brhaspatismṛti* (Reconstructed), (by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyanger, Oriental Series, Vol. LXXXV, Baroda, 1941), pp. 370 f.

- I. 53. *Bhūmicchidra nyāya*="the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time". (Glossary p. 58). See Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanī* (Bhūmikhāṇḍa, Vaisyādhyāya. V. 18), according to which the term *bhūmicchidra* primarily means an uncultivable land (*bhūmicchidraṁ kṛṣya-yogyā*). When any such land used to be brought under cultivation for the first time it remained free from any tax or land revenue. Hence, all tax-free land came to be referred to by the term *bhūmicchid-ranyāya*.
- I. 77. Here in the word *gaurisoma* and also in the word *gaurisvāmī* in line 83, *gauri* is not corrected by P. N. Bhattacharya as *gaurī*. As these are proper names, we have also left them as they are.
- I. 126. *Bali*=offering of scents, flowers and uncooked food before an idol. *Caru*=oblation of rice, milk and sugar boiled together. *Satra*=distribution of food to the guests and the poor.
- I. 133. *Prāptapañcamahāśabda* means that the person concerned has attained a status of honour by virtue of which he is entitled to be received with the auspicious sounds of five musical instruments or he may be referred to with five official designations beginning with the word *mahā*, such as *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *mahāsāmanta*, and so on. See *Śāsanāvalī*, p. 42. and *Glossary*, p. 230 f.
- II. 133-134. By the earlier translators Śrīkṣikuṇḍu alone is named as 'the officer who marks the boundaries'. In that case we have some function for Janārdanasvāmī as the *nyāyakaraṇika* and for Haradattakāyastha as the *vyāvahārin*, but no function for "Dundhunātha and others". The *Ep. Ind.* translation supposes Haradatta, Dundhunātha and others as the witnesses, with much doubt. To avoid this doubt I explain that all the officers and ordinary civilians like Dundhunātha and others were present in time of making the boundaries. Kundu, Janārdana, Haradatta, Dundhunātha and others were all *simāpradātā*. Otherwise there is no scope for bringing in some witnesses in addition to the officer responsible for making the boundaries. The singular number in *simāpradātā* may be explained with the maxim, "*uddeśya-vidheyayorliṅgavacanatantratā nāstī*."
- II. 135-136. Vasuvarṇṇa was responsible for composing the charter (*śāsana*) and also for writing the letters on the plates with ink or some colour. *Sekyakāra* is a coppersmith, and Kāliyā must have been responsible for making the slabs of copper and also for engraving the letters as drawn up with ink by Vasuvarṇṇa.

vv. 26-27. For further information about these and similar bhūmidāna verses, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 170-201, and particularly p. 194 and p. 196.

NAMES OF THE NIDHANPUR C. P. DONEES IN TABULAR FORM
(The letter *s* after any name stands for the word swāmī.)

Sl. No.	Veda	Gotra	Name	Amśa.
1.	Vājasaneyī (yajurveda)	Prācetasa	Sādhāraṇasvāmī (paṭṭakapati ⁸⁹)	2
2-5.	Do	Do	Śrīvasu and his 3 brothers	1
6-7.	Do	Do	Somavasu and brother	$\frac{1}{2}$
8.	Chāndoga (Sāmavedī)	Kātyāyana	Manorathasvāmī (paṭṭakapati)	$1\frac{3}{4}$
9.	Do	Do	Viṣṇughoṣasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
10.	Do	Do	Vedaghoṣasvāmī	1
11.	Bāhvṛcyā (Rgveda)	Yāska	Dāmādevasvāmī	1
12.	Do	Do	Ghoṣadevasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
13.	Do	Do	Nandadevasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
14.	Chāndoga	Bhāradvāja	Arkadatta along with his clan	$1\frac{1}{2}$
15.	Do	Do	Tuṣṭidattasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
16.	Vājasaneyī	Kāśyapa	Rṣidāmasvāmī	1
17.	Do	Do	Śubhadāmasvāmī	1
18.	Do	Kautsa	Śanaīscarabhūti with clan	1
19.	Bāhvṛcyā	Gaurātreyā	Samkarṣaṇasvāmī	2
20.	Do	Do	Narasvāmī	1
21.	Do	Do	Nārāyaṇasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
22.	Do	Do	Viṣṇusvāmī	1
23.	Do	Do	Sudarśanasvāmī	1
24.	Do	Do	Gopendrasvāmī	1
25.	Do	Do	Arkasvāmī	$\frac{1}{4}$

⁸⁹ Paṭṭakapati is one who retains the charter with himself.

Sl. No.	Veda	Gotra	Name	Amśa.
26.	Bāhvṛcya	Gaurātreyā	Bhānusvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
27.	Do	Do	Bhūyaskarasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
28.	Vājasaneyī	Kṛṣṇātreyā	Yaśobhūtīsvāmī	1
			with clan	1
29.	Chāndoga	Bhāradvāja	Baruṇasvāmī	1
30.	Vājasaneyī	Kauṇḍinya	Madhusena s	1
31.	Chāndoga	Gautama	Dhruvasoma s	1
32.	Do	Do	Viṣṇusoma s	1
33.	Vājasaneyī	Bhāradvāja	Viṣṇupālita s	$1\frac{1}{2}$
34.	Do	Do	Sucipālita s	1
35-36.	Do	Do	Mitrapālita and	
			Arthapālita	$\frac{1}{2}$
37.	Do	Do	Prajāpālita s	$\frac{1}{4}$
38.	Do	Gautama	Madhusvāmī	1
39.	Do	Do	Cakradeva s	$\frac{1}{2}$
40.	Cārakya (Yajurvedīya)	Vātsa	Kuṣmāṇḍapatra s	$1\frac{3}{8}$
41.	Cārakya	Maudgalya	Īśvaradatta s	2
42-43.	Vājasaneyī	Do	Sudarśana and	
			Dinakara s	1
44.	Do	Śaumbhaka (or Śaunaka)	Yajñakuṇḍa s	$1\frac{1}{2}$
45.	Do	Do	Yaśaḥkuṇḍa s	$1\frac{1}{4}$
46.	Do	Do	Śrāddhakuṇḍa s	1
47.	Do	Do	Nārāyaṇakuṇḍa s	1
48.	Do	Do	Īśvarakuṇḍa s	$1\frac{1}{8}$
49.	Do	Do	Śaktikuṇḍa s	$\frac{1}{4}$
50.	Do	Do	Toṣakuṇḍa s	$1\frac{1}{8}$
51.	Cārakya	Pārāśarya	Sādhusvāmī	1
52.	Chāndoga	Āślāyana (= Āśvalāyana)	Gaṅgasvāmī	1
53.	Bāhvṛcya	Vārāha	Narasvāmī	1
54.	Do	Do	Pravarānāga s	$\frac{3}{4}$
55.	Do	Do	Apanāga s	1
56-57.	Do	Do	Toṣanāga and	
			Hampināga	$\frac{1}{4}$
58.	Vājasaneyī	Kāśyapa	Mānaghoṣa s	1
59.	Chāndoga	Vaiṣṇavṛddhi	Sarpiṇi s	1

Sl. No.	Veda	Gotra	Name	Amśa.
60.	Chāndoga	Vaiṣṇavṛddhi	Janārdana s	1
61.	Bāhvṛcyā	Kauśika	Arkaśvāmī	1½
62.	Do	Do	Śradhadāsa s	½
63.	Vājasanejī	Gautama	Sanātana s	1
64.	Do	Do	Harṣaprabha with clan	½
65.	Do	Kauṭilya	Khaṇḍasoma s	1½
66-68.	Vājasaneyī	Kauṭilya	Śreyaskara, Gati and Gaurisoma	1
69.	Do	Do	Vakulasoma s	½
70-71.	Do	Do	Dhṛtisoma and Sīmhasoma s	½
72.	Do	Kṛṣṇātreya	Bhāyaśaḥ s	½
73.	Do	Do	Yajñasvāmī	1¼
74.	Do	Do	Daivasvāmī	1¼
75.	Do	Do	Dardīsvāmī	½
76.	Do	Do	Pradyumnasvāmī	1¼
77.	Do	Do	Vṛddhisvāmī	2
78-82.	Do	Do	Divākara, Hari, Adbhūta, Tvaṣṭu and Toṣanāga	1
83.	Do	Kavestara	Medhasvāmī	1
84.	Do	Māṇḍavya	Dhṛtisvāmī with clan	¼
85.	Do	Kāśyapa	Keśavasvāmī	1
86.	Vājasaneyī	Bhāradvāja	Gaurīsvāmī	1
87.	Do	Do	Sucaritasvāmī	½
88.	Do	Do	Vappasvāmī	1
89.	Bāhvṛcyā	Kauṇḍīnyā	Karkadatta s	1
90.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Udayanasvāmī	1
91.	Do	Vaśiṣṭha	Merudattasvāmī	1
92-93.	Vājasaneyī	Agniveśya	Narendra and Reṇubhūti s	1
94.	Do	Do	Medhabhūti s	½
95.	Cārakya	Saṅkṛtyāyana	Candrapakṣa s	1
96.	Bāhvṛcyā	Yāska	Kālīsvāmī	1
97.	Do	Do	(?) Svāmī	1½
98.	Do	Do	Bhṛṭṭīmaheśvara s	½
99.	Do	Pārāśarya	Gopālanandī s	1

Sl. No.	Veda	Gotra	Name	Amśa.
100.	Bāhvṛcya	Bhārgava	Viśvabhūti s	1
101-102.	Do	Do	Surañjita and Śucarita s	$\frac{1}{2}$ 1
103.	Taittirīya (Yajurvedi)	Bhāradvāja	Sivagaṇa s	1
104-107.	Bāhvṛcya	Kātyāyana	Vasuśrī s and brothers	1
108.	Vājasaneyī	Kauśika	Vīrabhūti s	1
109.	Do	Do	Viṣṇubhūti s	$\frac{1}{2}$
110.	Do	Do	Pramodabhūti s	1
111.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Viṣṇudatta s	1
112.	Do	Kauṇḍinya	Brhaspati s	1
113.	Bāhvṛcya	Yāska	Harṣadeva s	1
114.	Vājasaneyī	Jātūkarna	Medhasvāmī	1
115.	Do	Do	Kṛṣṇasvāmī	1
116-117.	Do	Do	Mādhava and Hari	1
118.	Chāndoga	Bhāradvāja	Janārdanadeva s	1
119.	Vājasaneyī	Maudgalya	Viṣṇusoma s	$\frac{1}{2}$
120.	Cārakya	Gārgya	Dhanasena s	1
121-122.	Do	Do	Pramodasena and Ghoṣasena	1
123.	Do	Do	Somasena s	1
124.	Bāhvṛcya	Gautama	Bhāskaramitra s	1
125.	Do	Do	Madhumitra s	1
126-127.	Do	Do	Sādhāraṇamitra and Sādhumitra	1
128.	Do	Do	Dhṛtimitra s	$\frac{1}{2}$
129.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Śukrabhava s	1
130-131.	Do	Pautrimāśya	Sudarśana and Dhaneśvara s	$\frac{1}{2}$ 1
132.	Vājasaneyī	Sāṇḍilya	Ravi s	1
133.	Do	Do	Madhusvāmī	1
134.	Do	Do	Mahīdhara s	1
135.	Bāhvṛcya	Paurṇa	Bhaṭṭimaheśvara s	1
136.	Do	Do	Bhaṭṭimātr s	$\frac{1}{2}$
137.	Do	Do	Rudrabhaṭṭi s	$\frac{1}{2}$
138.	Chāndoga	Kauśika	Adrivilepanasvāmī	1
139.	Vājasaneyī	Sāvarṇika	Gomināga s	1

Sl. No.	Veda	Gotra	Name	Amśa.
140.	Vājasaneyī	Śālaṅkāyana	Sūrya s	1
141.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Bhavadeva s	1
142.	Do	Do	Śarvadeva s	1
143.	Do	Do	Gomideva s	$\frac{1}{2}$
144.	Do	Do	Sāvitradeva s	2
145.	Do	Do	Arkadeva s	$\frac{1}{2}$
146.	Do	Do	Sādhāraṇa s	$\frac{1}{4}$
147.	Do	Gārgya	Dāmarāta s	1
148.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Vasudatta s	2
149.	Do	Ālambāyana	Yāgeśvara s	2
150.	Do	Do	Viśveśvara s	1
151.	Do	Do	Divyeśvara s	1
152.	Do	Do	Gaṇeśvara s	1
153.	Do	Do	Budheśvara s	1
154-155.	Do	Do	Jāteśvara and Aṅgeśvara	1
156.	Do	Do	Dhauteśvara s	$\frac{1}{4}$
157.	Do	Do	Magheśvara s	$\frac{1}{4}$
158.	Do	Do	Jahneśvara s	$\frac{1}{2}$
159.	Do	Do	Nandeśvara s	1
160.	Do	Āṅgīrasa	Dāmabhūti s	1
161-162.	Bāhvṛca	Kāśyapa	Prakāśavara s with hrother	1
163.	Vājasaneyī	Yāska	Gāyatrīpāla s	1
164.	Bāhvṛca	Pārāśarya	Śāntaśarma s	1
165.	Do	Kauśika	Padmadāsa s with clan	1
166-169.	Do	Kauśika	Govardhana ⁹⁰ , Yajñapāla, Panu and Sudarśanasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
170.	Chāndoga	Pāṅkalya	Gopālasvāmī	1
171.	Taittirīya	Kāśyapa	Ugradatta	1
172.	Bāhvṛca	Bārhaspatya	Bhaṭṭinanda s	1
173.	Do	Do	Sādhusvāmī	1

⁹⁰ It seems more reasonable to recognise four brāhmaṇas and not two. In that case the duel number is a mistake for the plural number. In line 119 also there seems to be an incorrect duel number in place of the desired plural number.

Sl. No.	Veda	Gotra	Name	Amśa.
174.	Bāhvṛcya	Bārhaspatya	Devakula s	1
175.	Do	Do	Janārdana s	$\frac{1}{2}$
176-178.	Do	Do	Sunayana, Nārāyaṇa and Brddhisvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
179.	Do	Gautama	Īśvarabhaṭṭa s	1
180.	Do	Do	Bhṛgusvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
181.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Rudraghoṣa s	1
182.	Cārakya	Kātyāyana	Kauśisoma s	1
183.	Vājasaneyī	Gautama	Prabhākarakīrti s	1
184.	Do	Śāṇḍilya	Anantasvāmī	1
185.	Bāhvṛcya	Śaunaka	Gatibhaṭṭi s	1
186.	Do	Do	Tejabhaṭṭi s	1
187-189.	Do	Do	Managhoṣa ⁹¹ , Tejabhaṭṭi and Nandabhūti s	$\frac{1}{2}$
190.	Do	Do	Dāmabhaṭṭi s	1
191.	Do	Do	Medhabhaṭṭi s	1
192.	Do	Do	Sumatibhaṭṭi s	1
193.	Do	Do	Suyogabhaṭṭi s	1
194.	Do	Vātsya	Śāśvatadāma s	1
195.	Chāndoga	Gāutama	Toṣasvāmī	1
196.	Bāhvṛcya	Vārāha	Bhaṭṭiharasvāmī	1
197.	Vājasaneyī	Bhāradvāja	Nāgadatta s	$\frac{1}{2}$
198-199.	Do	Ālambāyana	Dūrveśvarasvāmī with brother	$\frac{1}{2}$
200.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Rūpādhyasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
201-202.	Bāhvṛcya	Kauśika	Candradāsa and Vimardana s	1
203.	Vājasaneyī	Kāśyapa	Supratisthitasvāmī	1
204.	Do	Gautama	Nandana s	1
205.	Do	Śākaṭāyana	Toṣasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
206-207.	Do	Gautama and Kāśyapa	Sārasa and Vakulasvāmī	1
208.	Do	Bhāradvāja	Vidūṣasvāmī	$\frac{1}{2}$
For the purpose of <i>Vali</i> , <i>Caru</i> and <i>Satra</i>				7
Total				166 $\frac{1}{16}$ parts

⁹¹ Here also I have preferred to recognise three names taking *bhyām* to be a mistake in analogy with earlier ones. (See line 113)

No. 7. TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMAN

(G.E. 510=829/830 A.D.)

- Place :** A huge rock containing the present inscription is situated on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra slightly towards the western side of the Tezpur town, the headquarters of the Darrang District of Assam.
- Description :** The inscription measures 92" × 48" and contains 9 lines, each containing 30 letters in average and the letters measure 3" in average. In the middle position of the tenth line the date, Gupta 510 is given within a box formed by two parallel lines running in a rectangular form.
- Script :** The script is the eastern variety of the north Indian script of the ninth century, but the inscription is so badly damaged by external agents that the text has become almost illegible, and in certain places no text could be recovered at all, and as such the present reading presents much ambiguity, and leaves much room for doubt.
- Language :** Sanskrit prose. But the text, as we have it now, thanks to the efforts of the earlier scholars, is full of corrupt forms and such words which are better to be recognised as praktised local names.
- History :** It was first brought to the notice of Sir Edward Gait, the then Director of Ethnography of Assam, as early as 1893 A.D. He sent a photograph of the inscription to Dr. Hoernle (P. 4, para 8, *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, 1897.). Some five or six years later Dr. Bloch took an impression of the inscription and succeeded in reading the name of Harjara and the Gupta year 510. Most probably the same impression was sent to Dr. Keilhorn who deciphered the first 2/3 lines and published an Epigraphic note in Germany in 1905. A little later the then Government Epigraphist, Rao Saheb Krishna Shastri managed to decipher the whole text and made out that the inscription recorded a litigation and the grant of a land to the settler of the dispute. By 1915 Colonel Gordon, the then Director of Ethnography, Raisaheb N. N. Basu
- &**
- References :**

and Dr. Spooner also took interest in the inscription. In 1917 MM. Dr. H. P. Shastri made out the whole text and published it along with his comments and English translation in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Dec. 1917. N. N. Basu presented the facsimile and the text in his *Social History of Assam* (Vol. I. pp. 159a-159b) in 1922. P. N. Bhattacharyya presents a text in the light of Krishna Shastri and N. N. Basu and a Bengali translation of the English rendering of Krishna Shastri in his *Śāśanāvalī* (p. 185). P. N. Bhattacharyya is not, however, happy with the purpose and purport of the inscription as explained by the earlier scholars and hence presents a fresh interpretation at the close of his discussion. Here I am reproducing the text from *Śāśanāvalī* and presenting a tentative translation and a 'commonsense' explanation.

Reference : Marshall, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-3, p. 229 ; H. P. Shastri, *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 508-14, P. N. Bhattacharya, *Śāśanāvalī* pp. 185-92, and *Pratibhā* (17th year), Nos., 3 & 4.

TEXT

(letters given within square-brackets are suggested by Krishna Shastri.)

1. ओं । स्वस्ति हारुणेश्वरपुरावस्थितस्वभुजवल[मद]
2. दर्पगवित मह(१) राजाधिराज परमेश्वरपरमभट्टा[र] कपर[ममा] हेश्वर
3. श्रीहर्जर वम्मंदेवस्य वर्द्धमान विजयराज्ये महासामन्तसे[ना] ध्यक्ष
4. श्रीछचित्तस्य अधिकारदिने कैवर्त्तनौ[कु] क्षि स्वभक्षसाधनी * * *
5. नौरज्ज तस्य नाकजोसी शुद्धव्यवहारश्चोद्भुत तत्र नौरज्जक नहि तत् प्रविस्तः * * *
6. सावर्णी श्री चित्रधरदक्ष भट्टजीउ दिनजी लाहिली भा दक्ष[ि]दरव[१]सी दलाकववा * * *
7. इत्येते बलध्यक्षा सामन्त शिलाकुट्टकवलेया पंचकुलशंकरभट्टपुत्रसोमदेवादयः । भूच[तु]
8. द्विक् सीमाकृत प्राक्खलिलक्षारभक्षभूभृद्भाग पश्चिम्यां नाकजोस याभ्यां प्रवरभूमित्यवरप
9. [वतउत्तरा] द्विर्वाहिकात् यः च्यवनं करोति तस्य पञ्चवृद्धिकां गृहीतव्यमितिः ॥
10. गुप्त ५१०

TRANSLATION

The substance of the translation given by Krishna Shastri is as follows :

A straight dispute was brought to the court on a day when the Mahāsāmanta Senādhyakṣa Śrī Sucitta was acting as the judge in the Vardhamāna Vijayarāja of Śrī Harjaravarman. Three parties namely, (1) Kaivartta, the boat-tax-collector, (2) Naurajja (or the controller of the affair of pulling the boats with ropes) and (3) Nakkajosādhikārin were involved in the dispute. But Naurajja (the controller of the rope-pulling) did not present himself in the case. Sāvarnī, Citragharadakṣa, Bhaṭṭajiu, Lāhili Jhā (i.e., Lāhiḍi Upādhyāya), the south Indian Dalākavavā—These army-chiefs and Somadeva, the son of the Pañcakula Brahmin Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa and others who have brought Sāmantaśilākuttaka under their complete control have determined the four boundaries of the land as follows : East—mountaneous country corroded by salt water, West—Nākkajosa, South—Pravarabhūmī, and North—Ābar Hills.

One who will violate the rule of rowing the boat in the mid-stream will be liable to pay a fine of five *buṭṭikās* (i.e., one hundred kauris).

This translation, which obviously could not help being disjointed, gives rise to several doubts.

(1) If it is a straight dispute then why three parties should be involved ?

(2) If three parties were involved why the third party should not have been present in the court ?

(3) If it is a plain dispute why should it be recorded so publicly with a rock inscription ?

(4) The closing sentence shows that the dispute is about the manner of rowing the boats, and when the inscription passes an order in respect of the manner of rowing the boat, where is the scope for determining the four boundaries of a land ? And why at all a land should be donated and why should not the inscription inform as to whom the land was made over ? Why should not the four boundaries be in proper order ?

To avoid all these and many other problems P. N. Bhattacharyya more convincingly suggests that the dispute was between the royal naval force and the ordinary boatmen of the locality around Tezpur where the royal capital might have been situated.

The present royal edict wants, in consequence of a dispute, that was presented in the court of Śrīsucitta, to demarcate the eastern and western boundaries for the rowing of the boats of the civilian fishermen (Kaivartta). Any one rowing the boat out side these boundaries would be liable to pay five *buṭṭikās* either as a fine or more probably as a tax.

Tentative translation

(In the light of the interpretation of P. N. Bhattacharya.)

Om : Let there be welfare to all. A straight dispute has been presented on a day when Śrī Sucitta the great feudatory king and chief of the army staff, was on the chair of the judge (for judgement in the court) of the prospering victorious kingdom of Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Parama Māheśvara Śrī Harjaravarmadeva, who has the pride of the valour of the prowess of his own army and who is stationed in the city of Hārūpeśvara. (lines 1 to 4).

The fisherman Naukukṣi, Svabhakṣasādhani, Naurajja, the owner of (the place named) Nākkajosa, (etc. on one side) and Sāvarṇī, Śrī-citragharadatta, Bhaṭṭājīu, Dinajī, Lāhili Jhā and Dalākavavā of the southern direction (i.e., southern bank of the river Brahmaputra). . . . These army officials, the feudatory Śilākuṭṭakavaleya, Somadeva the son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa of the family of Pañcakula and others (on the other hand) were involved in the dispute in respect of a right to use the water-ways) (lines 4 to 7)⁹².

This charter determines the boundaries as follows.⁹³ In the east the region of the hill called Salilakṣārabhakṣa and in the west Nākkajosa.⁹⁴ In between these two boundaries⁹⁵ there lies the water passage for free rowing of boats.⁹⁶ Five *buṭṭikās* should be realised (as a fine or as a tax) from him who would make any movement (i.e., would row the boat) outside this water-area specified for rowing (of the civilians).

(Lines 7 to 9)

NOTES

General : We have two inscriptions of Harjara. The other one is the Hāyunthal C. P. which is actually issued by Harjara's son Vanamāla, the Yuvarāja, on behalf of the king Harjara, who might have been at that time old and in a retiring stage. The present charter being issued in the name of the king Harjara himself, is taken to be earlier in date and hence placed earlier in this book also.

⁹² Translation of the lines 4 to 7 is absolutely tentative and based on commonsense.

⁹³ This is the tentative rendering of what might have been actually given in place of भूचतुर्दिकसीमाकृत

⁹⁴ This place is already referred to in line 5 while referring to its owner.

⁹⁵ This is the rendering for याम्यां which I prefer to read in place of याम्यां

⁹⁶ This is the tentative meaning of what might have been actually given in place of प्रवरभूमित्ववरप [वंत उत्तरा]द्. This very part is possibly referred to as बाहक (i.e., place specified for movement) in बहिर्वाहकात् (in line 9).

Hārūppeśvara : P. N. Bhattacharya regrets that he could not read the text of the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjara when he visited the spot in 1333, B.S. (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 186). As such he reproduces the reading given by Rao Saheb Krishna Shastri. The Rao Saheb gives the name of the capital city as Hārūppeśvara. This name occurs again in several later inscriptions as discussed below.

(1) As the Tezpur Rock Inscription has become almost illegible, we have to rely on and retain the reading Hārūppeśvara, as given by Rao Saheb Krishna Shastri. But, possibly it could be revised as Haṭappeśvara also in the light of the Hāyūnthal C. P. grant of Harjara.

(2) In the Hāyūnthal C. P. grant of Harjara, P. N. Bhattacharya gives the reading as Hārūppeśvara. (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 50). But in the foot note it is pointed out that the original reads Haṭappeśvara. From the photograph of the grant given in the *Śāsanāvalī*, however, we get the name as Haṭappeśvara. P. N. Bhattacharya possibly felt tempted to emend the reading in the light of the reading of the Tezpur Rock Inscription given by Rao Saheb Krishna Shastri. Elsewhere (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 56) P. N. Bhattacharya gives the hint that the reading has been emended in the light of the Nowgong C. P. grant of Balavarman, III.

(3) In the Tezpur C. P. grant of Vanamāla, P. N. Bhattacharya reads the name of the capital city as Hārūppeśvara. But in the Asiatic Society reading the name occurred as Harayeśana. (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 56). In our opinion the reading of the Asiatic society should have been emended as Haṭappeśvara and not as Hārūppeśvara. It will be shown below that in the Nowgong C. P. grant of Balavarman III also the name of the city is given as Haṭappeśvara and not as Hārūppeśvara. In our opinion the Asiatic Society reading हरयेशन is the misrepresentation of an original हृदयेश्वर. In the table of the equivalents of the alphabet supplied by the Asiatic Society (vide *Śāsanāvalī*, p. 56) no equivalent is given for the letter हृ. But from the Parbatiyā Plates of Vanamāla and the Uttarbarbil Plates of Balavarman III we may gather that there was a very subtle distinction between हृ and र, and as such there was every likelihood of the letter हृ being read as र in the Tezpur Plates of Vanamāla. From the table of equivalents, referred to above, we see that very

little distinction was maintained between प and य and between र and न. The smaller व of the conjunct consonant र्व could have been lost through corrosion. Thus there was every possibility of हडपेश्वर being read as हरयेशन in those early days of Indian epigraphical studies. Hence, in the Tezpur C. P. grant of Vanamāla we should read the name of the capital city as हडपेश्वर and not as हारुपेश्वर.

(4) The name of the capital city occurs as the initial word of the Plate IIIa of the Parbatiyā C. P. grant of Vanamāla. The text of this grant is preserved in very good condition. It can be clearly read as हडपेश्वर.

(5) In the 4th line of Plate IIb of the Uttarbarbil C. P. grant of Balavarman III, the name of the city is read by P. C. Choudhury as हरपोश्वर. Here also the reading is in a very good state of preservation. In our opinion here the name of the city should be read as हडपेश्वर. It is true that in this inscription ड and र are almost similar. Yet there is a slight difference and the second syllable of the name of the city can safely be identified as ड on the strength of the shape of the ड as it occurs in the word कुण्डलयुगलं of the 6th line of plate 1b. In the next syllable the ए-कार is clearly given. Then there occurs a reduplication of प. What is read by P. C. Choudhury as पा is actually a प्प. In the 9th line of the same plate IIb we find the expression विषयान्तःपातिवप्पदेवपाठक etc. There also P. C. Choudhury reads वपादेव and not वप्पदेव. But if we notice carefully we can see that there is a greater gap between the प and the supposed आ-कार of the words हडपेश्वर and वप्पदेव, than the gap between the प and the actual आकार of the words पाति and पाठक. In हडपेश्वर and वप्पदेव the marginal line of प is curved at the bottom towards the right side so as to form a longer प with what is supposed to be an आ-कार. Hence in our opinion in the Uttarbarbil C. P. grant of Balavarman III, the name of the capital city occurs as हडपेश्वर and not as हरपोश्वर and nor also as हडपोश्वर.

(6) Not only in respect of the literary portion of the text but also in respect of the shape of letters the Nowgong C. P. grant of Balavarman III is almost a carbon copy of the Uttarbarbil C. P. grant of the same king. Here also in the 5th line of plate IIb the name of the city can be safely read as हडपेश्वर. Earlier, R. Hoernle preferred to

read it as हारुप्पेश्वर and that remained the most widely accepted reading till recently; and probably that is why the reading हारुप्पेश्वर is given again and again by P. N. Bhattacharya. But Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two *aksharas* of the name are not quite distinct". (See P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIX. No. 20. p. 150). Happily now we have the Uttarbarbil C. P. grant of Balavarman III, where the text is very distinctly preserved and the name of the capital city can be determined as हडप्पेश्व without any hesitation.

(7) In the 13th line of plate IIb of the Gachtal C. P. grant of Gopālavarma the name of the capital city occurs as हडप्यक in the expression हडप्यकेति पुण्या पुरी. P. C. Choudhury (*JARS*. XVIII. pp. 55-60) reads the name as हडप्यक. The second *akṣara* is now not very clear. But it is also difficult to recognise anything other than a ड there. The third syllable is also slightly hazy. But it can be unhesitatingly read as प्य on the strength of the similarity of the य-कार of the words निषेव्य and दिव्याङ्गन of the preceding line of the same plate. Hence, we may conclude that the name of the capital city of Harjara and his successors is recorded in the relevant plates only as Haṭappeśvara or, Haḍappeśvara or, Haḍapeśvara or, Haḍapyaka.

Haṭapeśvara might have been the name of a deity installed in some central market place (*haṭṭa*). This name Haṭapeśvara may be compared to Haṭṭeśvara (Svayambhū-kṣetra) of village Jagadballabhpur of District Howrah in West Bengal.

Sāvarṇī (l. 6) : It is not unlikely that it is a professional name derived from the profession *Savarṇa-vṛtt*, i.e., profession of writing documents (*Glossary*, p. 307).

Translation : Regarding the tentative translation I have to add that the engraving of a royal order on a rock just by the side of the river publicly further warrents the conjecture that the inscription was of the nature of a public notice in respect of a tol-tax or porhibition relating to the movement of civilian boats. This was possibly necessitated by the strategic situation of the capital just on the bank of the river concerned.

No. 8. HĀYUNTHAL COPPER PLATES OF HARJARAVARMAN

(Middle of the 9th Century)

- Place & history : The place of discovery of the plates was Hāyūnthal, then in the Nowgong District and now in the Mikir Hills District of Assam. A certain devotee belonging to the Mikir tribe discovered three copper plates tied with a chain inside layers of brick slabs while preparing a ground for worship. He kept one plate with himself and gave the other two plates to two different persons. One of the other two plates, given to a gentlemen belonging to Laṅkā (a station of the N. F. Rly. in the Nowgong District) came to the hands of an educated gentleman Babu Manicaran Barman. This plate was ultimately handed over to the late Babu Jagannath Dey, the then Superintendent of the Silchar Normal school. In 1332 B.S. this plate ultimately came to the hands of P. N. Bhattacharyya who included it in his *Śāsanāvalī*.
- Reference : P. N. Bhattacharyya, *JARS*, Vol. I., pp. 109 f. ; *Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 44-53.
- Description : The available plate is the middle one of three plates which contained a royal charter. But because of the absence of the first and the last plates the purpose of the charter cannot be determined.
The middle plate presents two pages of text. The plate measures 8" × 5" and presents 28 lines at the rate of 14 lines per page. The plate has been obtained in a very damaged condition and as such in many places the text could not be read.
- Language & metre : Sanskrit verse and prose ; but the language is very corrupt and rich in the usual faults of omission and commission and grammatical mistakes. There are 14 verses in the available plate, which are numbered 1 to 14. Of these verses, V. 8 is in Vasantatilakā metre, V. 11 is in Indravajrā, V. 12 is in Śārdūlavikrīḍita and the rest are in Anuṣṭup metre.
- Orthography : We are reproducing the text as corrected by P. N. Bhattacharyya. But from the notices made by him and

the facsimile supplied by him we may gather the following orthographical features of this inscription : (i) Anusvāra followed by a **ब** or **व** is written as **म्**. Cf. **राज्यम्बभूव** in line 10, for which P. N. Bhattacharya gives **राज्यम्बभार**, and **राज्यार्थम्बिजगीषवो** in line 15 for which Bhattacharya gives **राज्याथ विजगीषवो**. (ii) Anusvāra followed by **ह** is given as **ह्**. Cf. **सिद्धासन** in line 19, for which Bhattacharya gives **सिहासन**. (iii) No distinction is maintained between **ब** and **व**; yet to be faithful to the emendations of P. N. Bhattacharya we have put **ब** for **व** wherever necessary.

Script : Eastern variety of North Indian script of middle of the ninth century. The script is similar to that of the Tezpur rock Inscription of Harjara with this difference that in the rock inscription the letters are more curvical and less angular while the letters in the present C.P. are less curvical and more angular.

TEXT

(As given by P. N. Bhattacharya)

First page of the middle plate

1. ता बलवन्तो महौजस(:) । र कि × × × ॥१॥ × × × (महाब-) (?)
2. ल । अतो म्लेच्छाभिधानास्तु भविष्यास्तव पार्थिव ॥२॥ प(?) श्वाद्गो(?)
× × × स्वा(?)
3. भगदत्तस्य भूपते(:) । सालस्तम्भोरिहा तस्माद्भूव क्षितिपाल(कः) ॥३॥
4. स्वर्गते नृपशार्दूले तस्य सुनुर्महाबलः । विजयो निर्जिता(रातिर्ब-)
5. भूवोर्व्वीपतिर्महान् ॥४॥ तस्मिन्मृते महाबाहौ पालकः पालको(त्तमः) ।
6. कुमारो वज्रदेवश्च क्रमेणान्तर्हिता नृपा(:) ॥५॥ यः श्रुतो हर्षवर्म्मैति(गुण-)
7. बान्धार्म्मिको नृप(:) । पुत्रदृष्ट्या जनो येन पालितो न च पी(डितः) ॥६॥ ना-
8. कपृष्ठं गते राज्ञि तस्यैव तनयो भुवि । बल(वर्म्म) ल(') नृपति(:) सोपि
9. मृत्युवशं गतः ॥७॥ तस्मिन् कुले कुमुदचन्द्रपयःप्रकाशे चक्रारथी जगति ह्यो-
10. द्धुतराजपुत्रौ । राज्यम्बभार तनयो हि कनीयसस्तद्भूतौ तु तौ गृहगिरा(मव-)
11. हानदक्षौ ॥८॥ जगत्येकैव सा धन्या भाग्यानां सा निकेतन(') । यथा श(?)
12. × × × × शासनः ॥९॥ इति यस्या यशः शुभ्रमिदानीं गीयते भु-
13. वि । × × × × तया(?) जीवदेवी स्वजन्मनः ॥१०॥ तस्या(')
पृथायामिव धर्म-
14. (पुत्रः स्रुतः स्रुमद्वात) इवाभिमन्यु(:) । जातो धरित्र्यामधिपो भविष्यन्
भीह (जंरो)

Second page of the middle plate

15. (हय्यवदानहयः ॥) ११॥ राज्यार्थं विजिगीषवो गिरिदरिप्रान्तेषु यस्तास्थि-
 16. ता(:) (सन्ध्यर्थं शरण)ङ्गता नृपछता(:) स्थाने यमध्यासते । देवे यत्र गु-
 17. (णः वसन्ति च समं)सर्वात्मना श्रेयसि पर्यालोचनगोचरादवि-
 18. रसो यस्य क्षणो लभ्यते ॥१२॥ सर्व्वतीर्थाम्भ(:) सम्पूर्णै राजतै(:) कलसै(:)
 शुभै(:) ।
 19. सिंहासनसमारूढो मरुद्गिरिव वासवः ॥१३॥ श्रीमान् हर्जरवर्मांसौ
 20. राजभि(:) प्रणतैर्वृत(:) । अभिषिक्तो वणिक्पूर्व्वै राजपुत्रै(:) कुलोद्गतैः ॥१४॥
 21. श्रीमान् हारुणेश्वरावासि⁹⁷ जयस्कन्धावारपरमपरमेश्वरपरम-
 22. भट्टारकपरममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातहर्जरवर्मादेव(:)
 23. (कुश)ली । तत्र च देवी कमलनिवासिनीव प्रकटयति रूपगुणान्⁹⁸
 24. महादेवी⁹⁹मङ्गलश्री(:) । तत्र च गर्भसमुत्पन्ना दिवाकरस्येव किरणकलि-¹
 25. ताकलङ्काविकलेन्द्वगणितगुणा युवराजश्रीवनमाला(:) समाज्ञा-
 26. पयन्त्येवं विदितमस्तु भवतां सकलभुवनानन्दितचक्रमण्डन²म-
 27. हासैन्यपतिश्रीगणो महाद्वाराधिपत्यश्रीजयदेव । महाप्रतिहा-
 28. रजनार्दन । महामात्यश्रीगोविन्द । मधुसूदन । ब्राह्मणाधिकारभट्टश्रीक(पठ ?)

TRANSLATION³

**** All are powerful and high-spirited. (V. 1)**** Oh Pārthiva⁴, your future descendants will, for this reason, be called *mlecchas*. (V. 2). of king Bhagadatta After this, Śālastambha, the killer of enemies, became the ruler of the earth. (V. 3)

After the tiger-like king retired to the heaven, his very strong son Vijaya, who subdued the enemies, became a great king of the earth. (V. 4).

After the death of this mighty (king) the best protector Pālaka,

⁹⁷ According to P. N. Bhattacharya, the original reading is हाटपेश्वरावासी. In our opinion the reading should be हटपेश्वरावासी. See our notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman.

⁹⁸ The original reads रूपगुणाः.

⁹⁹ The original reads महादेव्या.

¹ The original reads दिवाकरमिवकिरणमकलि.

² Better read मण्डल in place of मण्डन given by P. N. Bhattacharya.

³ An English translation of this grant is given by K. L. Barua in his *EHK* (Appendix II).

⁴ Pārthiva=a king. It may also mean a progeny of Prthivī or earth, suggesting that the king, who is addressed here, belongs to the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty. The descendants of this king, however, would be known as *mlecchas* due to some reason given in the corroded portion.

Kumāra and Vajradeva became kings and disappeared in succession. (V. 5)

The virtuous and highly qualified king, who became famous with his name Harṣavarman, protected his subjects like his own children and never oppressed them. (V. 6)

When this monarch ascended the heavens, his powerful son Balavarman became the king, but he also had to be subject to death. (V. 7)

Alas, in that family, which was as white (i.e., pure and famous) as the lily, the moon and milk, there were born two princes named Cakra and Arathī, who were both ill-tempered and who were skilled in the act of disrespecting the words of their preceptors. The sovereignty was therefore exercised by the son of the younger brother⁵. (V. 8)

In this world she alone is blessed and is the abode of fortune by whom * * * (V. 9)

She whose pure fame is still proclaimed in the world that * * * Jivadevī of her own birth. (V. 10)

As Yudhiṣṭhira was born from Kuntī and Abhimanyu from Subhadrā, in the same way Śrī Harjara, the would-be king of the world, who was pleasant looking and powerful like a lion was born from her (i.e., Jivadevī). (V. 11)

The kings, anxious to conquer territories, having fought against one another in sub-mountain tracts, accepted him as the mediator; he is possessed of all the virtues in equal proportion and though constantly engaged in works pertaining to the welfare of his subjects, he always spared time to make himself accessible to others without any disgust. (V. 12)

That illustrious Harjaravarman ascended the throne being surrounded by the vassal rulers as Indra is surrounded by the gods. He was sprinkled, at the time of coronation, with the water of all sacred places, contained in a silver pitcher, by the merchants and the princes of noble birth (VV. 13-14).

At the royal capital of Hārūppeśvara (Haṭappeśvara) Parama Parameśvara Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Parama Māheśvara Śrīmān Harjara-varmadeva, who meditates on the feet of his parents, is prospering. There, his queen Maṅgalaśrī, like Lakṣmī, (i.e., who dwells on the lotus) displays her beauty and qualities. Born from her, Vanamāla, who is bright like the full moon, without blemish, having the light of his sun-like father shed upon him, who is possessed of numerous virtues, hereby commands : Let it be known to all of you—Mahā-Sainyapati (commander-in-chief) Śrī Gaṇa, who delights the whole world and who is like an

⁵ Here, Prālabha, the son of Arathī is referred to. (See D. C. Sircar, *Indian Museum Bulletin*, No. 1)

ornament of the circle of vassals,⁶ Mahā-Dvārādhipati (chief of the gate-keepers) Śrī Jayadeva, Mahā-Pratīhāra (chief usherer) Janārdana, Mahā-Amātya (chief counsellor) Śrī Govinda and Madhusūdana, Brāhmaṇādhi-kāra (officer-in-charge of the welfare of Brāhmaṇs) Bhaṭṭa Śrī Kaṇṭha ***

NOTES

General : In this C. P. we have for the first time a reference to a Mleccha dynasty, of which the first known king was Śālastambha. Hence, the dynasty is called the Śālastambha dynasty. We are in possession of inscriptions of three kings of this dynasty, viz. Harjara, Vanamāla and Balavarman. There are references to this dynasty also in the inscriptions of Ratnapāla of the Bhauma Nāraka dynasty. (VV. 9 and 10 of Bargāon C. P. of Ratnapāla). Though this dynasty is called a mleccha dynasty the kings of this dynasty also claim their origin from the Bhauma Nāraka family (as in the inscriptions of Vanamāla and Balavarman) and it is maintained in the present inscription that the descendants of some predecessor of Śālastambha were to be called mlecchas only because of some thing like a curse.

- V. 4. There is a Rūpaka in *Nṛpaśārdūla* and an Anuprāsa in the second half.
- V. 5. There is a Lāṭānuprāsa in *Pālakaḥ pālakottamaḥ*.
- V. 8. There is a Luptopamā in *Kumudacandra-payah-prakāśa*. This involves a *Kavisamaya* (i.e., poetic convention) according to which fame and laughter are white. Cf. “मालिन्यं व्योम्नि पापे यशसि धवलता वर्ण्यते हासकीर्त्योः” under *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII. 22.
- V. 9. There is an Atīśayokti in *Jagtyekaiva sā dhanyā* etc.
- V. 11. There is an Upamā in this verse.
- V. 12. There is an Anuprāsa here.
- V. 13 & 14. Here we have a description of the coronation ceremony. Vājapeya sacrifice, chariot race, and oblations at the houses of *raṇins* used to be the main features of the coronation ceremony since the Vedic age. But, from about the 8th Century A.D. most

⁶ This adjective clause may probably apply to all the officers who are named here.

of these earlier features became obsolet, and besmearing of the king's body with several auspicious types of earth-dust and his bath with the waters of several sacred rivers became very important parts of the ceremony.⁷

Line 21. *Hārūppeśvara*—See notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman.

Lines 23f. *Upamā*.

Line 25. *Vyatireka* in *akalamka*, etc. and *Anuprāsa* in *agaṇitagunāḥ*.

Line 27. *Mahādvārādhipatya*—The top superintendent of the passes leading into the kingdom (*Glossary*, p. 105). *Mahāpratihāra*—*Pratihāra* is a 'door-keeper' while *Mahāpratihāra* is a high officer, officer in-charge of the defence of the royal palace or bed-chamber or the head of the guards of the city gate. For further details see *Glossary*, p. 259.

⁷ *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, ch. 2. Vide, A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 78 ff. for an account of the coronation ceremony.

No. 9. **TEZPUR COPPER PLATES OF VANAMĀLA**

(Middle of the 9th Century)

Place & History

& references : This C. P. was first published along with an English translation in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. IX (p. 766) in 1840. Instead of supplying the facsimile, the *Journal* gives a drawing of the first verse and the legend of the seal as they occurred in the original and a drawing of the seal and the Devanāgarī equivalents of the letters of the alphabet which occurred in the original C.P. grant in the eastern variety of the N. Indian script in a tabular form. (See *Śāsanāvalī*, plate facing p. 56.). We are simply given to learn that the plates were found underneath the earth near the town of Tezpur a little earlier than the time of their being published in the *Asiatic Society Journal*. The text was faithfully copied and the copy found its way to the Asiatic society through the efforts of Lieut. Colonel Francis Jenkins, the then head of the Government of Assam. Pandit Kamalakanta edited the copy and made his comments, and an English-knowing learned man, Saradaprasad, made the English translation for the *Journal* of the Society.

P. N. Bhattacharyya reproduces the text of the *Asiatic Society Journal* with certain intelligent improvements. The text of the subsequently discovered Parbatīyā Plates of the same king Vanamālavarman is very much similar to the text of the present grant. As the original plates of the Tezpur grant are lost beyond recovery, we could emend the text, given by the *Asiatic Society Journal* and subsequently by P. N. Bhattacharyya, with the help of the recently discovered Parbatīyā-Plates, to a great extent. But yet, we are reproducing the text of the Tezpur grant from the *Kāmarupaśāsanāvalī*, as it is, because of the following reasons. (1) While modifying the reading of the *Asiatic Society Journal*, P. N. Bhattacharyya could very often supply precisely what should have been most probably the real thing as is evidenced by the text of the subsequently discovered Parbatīyā plates. (2) We have refrained from modifying the text given by P. N. Bhattacharyya, in the light of the Parbatīyā Plates, as we cannot take it for

granted that any two grants of the same king should be completely identical. (3) In the absence of the original plates, the text given by P. N. Bhattacharyya, which has served the purpose for the last several decades, itself has great historical values.

References : JASB IX, ii, 1840 A.D. pp. 766 f; P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 54-70; Rangpur Sāhitya Parisad Patrikā, No. 1. 1321 Bengali sāl.

Language : Sanskrit. There are twenty-nine verses followed by a prose passage very rich in literary beauty, and then followed by four verses and 3/4 lines in prose for indicating the boundaries of the donated land.

Metre : V. 1, *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 18, 26, 31, *Anuṣṭubh* (pathyāvakra); vv. 3-6, 8-11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23, 27, *Āryā*; vv. 7, 12, 13, 32, *Indravajrā*; v. 14, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 16, 25, *Mandākrāntā*; v. 20, *Rathoddhatā*; v. 24, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 28, *Śālinī*; v. 29, *Pramitākṣarā*; v. 30, *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* & *Upendravajrā*); v. 33, *Anuṣṭubh* (*Vipulā*).

TEXT⁸

The legend of the seal

६^९-स्वस्ति । श्रीमान् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्वयो महाराजाधिराजश्रीवनमालवर्मदेवः ।

The text of the plates

६^९-स्वस्ति । श्रीमत्कैलासभूतपृथुकनकशिलासञ्चयात्फलनोत्थै¹⁰
रासारैर्हैमपङ्काविलुहिनकरैः सिक्तवैमानि¹¹सार्धः ।
अम्भः क्रीडत् (सुभूष) प्रवरसुरवधूकेशहस्तच्युतेर्वो
नाकेशद्वुप्रसूनैरुणितसलिलोऽव्यात् स लौहित्यसिन्धुः ॥ १ ॥

⁸ We are not in a position to know the line-numbers of the text as it occurred in the original plates. We are putting line-numbers only in the prose portion of the present text for the convenience of referring to them in the notes.

⁹ This mystic auspicious symbol is called *āñṣi*. If desired this symbol may be read aloud as *siddham*.

¹⁰ The *Asiatic Society Journal* gave the reading संगमान्दोलनोत्थै. The present reading tallies with the reading of the Parbatīyā plates. This shows that in most cases P. N. Bhattacharya could very precisely approach the real thing.

¹¹ वैमानि in place of वैशारि, of the *Journal*, agrees with the reading of the Parbatīyā plates.

स पुनातु पिनाकी वो यच्छोर्षे स्वर्धुनीजलं ।
 कीर्णं रेचकवातेन तारकाप्रकरायितं ॥ २ ॥
 नरक इति सूनुरासीदादिवराहस्य भुवि तदुद्धारे ।
 अदितेः कुण्डलहरणे प्रतापमपि यो हरेरहरत् ॥ ३ ॥
 कृष्णेन तं निहत्य च सृष्टौ भगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यौ ।
 तस्य सुतौ तद्वनिताकरुणविलापहतहृदयेन ॥ ४ ॥
 संप्राप्तो भगदत्तः श्रीमत्प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वं ।
 विनयभरेण तदेत्य प्राराधयदीश्वरं तपसा ॥ ५ ॥
 तुष्टेन तेन तस्मै दत्तमु^{१२}परिपत्तनाधिनाथत्वं ।
 प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथं कालेन तदन्वयस्यापि ॥ ५ ॥
 तस्यान्वयेभूत्क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिःस्फुरिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।
 प्राग्ज्योतिषेशः क्षतवैरिवीरः प्रालम्भ इत्यद्भुतनामधेयः ॥ ७ ॥
 स हि पूर्वैर्नरपतिगुणसमूहरागानुरञ्जितदिगन्तः ।
 सालस्तम्भप्रमुखैः श्रीहरिषान्तैर्महीपालैः ॥ ८ ॥
 दिवमारूढो ह्यस्य च भूमिभुजोद्यैकवैरिवीरोभूत् ।
 भ्राता शौर्यत्यागै रसमानादा^{१२}रथोति नृपः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीजीवदेतिसंज्ञा राज्ञी हृदयानुगाभवत्तस्य ।
 बहुजनवन्द्या महतः प्रभातसन्ध्येव तेजसो जननी ॥ १० ॥
 तस्यान्तस्य^{१३} तु राज्ञः सुतोभवन्नृपशिरोच्चिताङ्घ्रियुगः ।
 श्रीहर्जरो नृपेन्द्रः श्रिया स्वयं यः समुपगूढः ॥ ११ ॥
 धर्मप्रवादिषु युधिष्ठिरो यो सीमोरिवर्गे समरेषु जिष्णुः ।
 एकोप्यनेकैरिति सङ्गतो यो निःशेषकञ्चीतनयत्वमेतः ॥ १२ ॥
 गोपीजनानन्दितमानसस्य द्वेष्ट्येव वक्षः परिहृत्य विष्णोः ।
 निःशेषरामाजनदेहसंस्थमादाय सौन्दर्यमिहाजगाम ॥ १३ ॥
 वर्णा^{१४}द्यशेषगुणजातमयम्बभार पत्युर्ममातुल^{१५}बलस्य रथाङ्गपाणेः ।
 तेनाहमग्रमहिषी जगतीमुजोस्य भूत्वा जने न खलु लाघवमभ्युपैमि ॥ १४ ॥
 इति यस्य महादेवी विलोच्य मनसोनुगाभवलक्ष्मीः ।
 श्रीमत्तराभिधाना प्रमदारजोत्तमा नृपतेः ॥ १५ ॥

^{१२} दत्तमु, in place of दत्तेमु of the *Journal*, agrees with the reading of the Parbatīyā plates.

^{१२a} For रसमानादा the reading of the *Journal* was रसमानान्ना which is decidedly nearer to रसमो नात्ता given in the Parbatīyā plates.

^{१३} The *Asiatic Society Journal* gave तस्यास्तस्य

^{१४} Ordinarily in all Kāmarūpa plates the letter is reduplicated after a *repha*. But here we have retained the reading of the *Sāsanāvalī* as it is.

^{१५} Ordinarily no distinction is made between व and व in all the Kāmarūpa plates. Here the distinction is maintained as done by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

तस्याशेषक्षितिपमुकुटोद्घृष्टपादाब्जपीठ-
 स्याभूत सूनूर्तु पगुणमहारत्नमालाविभूषः ।
 तस्यां देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्दको यः शशीव
 श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमालाभिधानः क्षितीशः ॥ १६ ॥
 जलनिधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनीपतित्वस्य ।
 योग्य इति नाम धाता चक्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ॥ १७ ॥
 प्रबलारातिमत्तेभवटाध्वान्तोरुसंहति¹⁶ ।
 दिवाकरायितं येन विदार्य रणभूमिगां ॥ १८ ॥
 क्षितितनयनृपतिवंशप्रभवनरेन्द्रामलाम्बरे येन ।
 स्फुटमेव मृगाङ्गायितमत्याप्यारातितिमिरौधं ॥ १९ ॥
 भूरिटसरिपुवीरवाहिनीशैलवज्रमुखिक्रमासिता ।
 येन राजकमशेषमस्यता श्रीरकारि चिरमेकभर्तृका ॥ २० ॥
 यस्य प्रतापभीत्या बहुरिपुजयिनोपि मेदिनीपालाः ।
 केचिद्दिशो विजगद्दुः प्रसभं ययुरम्बरान्यन्ये ॥ २१ ॥
 राज्ञामन्येषां ये निशितानाजाविषून्नुपा मुमुचुः ।
 यस्मात्ततो विभीत्या भूमिं दूरं निजां विजगद्दुः ॥ २२ ॥
 यैरभिमुखं रिपूणामाघटितं मत्तकरिघटाटोपैः ।
 विक्रमकृतिहेतो¹⁷ स्तैर्यस्याञ्जलयः कृताः क्षितिपैः ॥ २३ ॥
 का हा¹⁸
 धूरुहे नहुषस्य येन पतितं कालान्तरादालयं
 सौधं भक्तिनता¹⁹ खिलामरवरवातार्चिताङ्घ्रिः पुनः ।
 प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गुत्तुङ्गमनुलग्रामेभवेऽप्यजनै-
 युक्तं हाटक²⁰ शूलिनः क्षितिभुजा²¹ भक्त्या नवं चक्रुषा ॥ २४ ॥

¹⁶ The *Journal* reads 'संघर्षति', and that is more usual for the Kāmarūpa plates.

¹⁷ विक्रमैकहेतो, given by the *Journal* tallies with the reading in the Parbatīyā plates.

¹⁸ The letters are obviously redundant and meaningless. Yet they are retained with the hope that some expert may find out some symbolical significance also. Such redundant letters are seen also in the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamāla.

¹⁹ The *Journal* reads भक्तिनवा. This reading given by P. N. Bhattacharyya agrees with the reading of the Parbatīyā plates.

²⁰ The *Journal* had the reading हेतुकशूलिनः. The Parbatīyā plates also clearly read हेतुकशूलिनः. Hence, there is no justification of accepting the reading हाटकशूलिनः given by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

²¹ क्षितिभुजा, given by P. N. Bhattacharyya seems to be a printing mistake.

यस्यानन्तद्युतिमतिसिता नागलोके हसन्ती
 दिङ्नागानां श्रसितजनितां शीकरालीं च दिक्षु ।
 स²²म्पूर्णन्दोर्वियति विमलामंशुमालां विचित्रां
 राज्ञोनल्पा विचरतितरां कीर्तिरद्याप्यजघ्नां ॥ २५ ॥
 सत्यगाम्भोर्यतुङ्गत्वप्रतापत्यागविक्रमैः ।
 योजयद्धर्मजाब्ध्यादिभानुकर्णमस्तुतान् ॥ २६ ॥
 यस्य यशःशशिनेदं भुवनं धवलीकृतं विलोक्य दृशा ।
 सव्रीड इवोदेति प्रालेयमरीचिरद्यापि ॥ २७ ॥
 देवागारं वाद्यगीतप्रणादैर्नानारामाः सन्निपां व्याहृतैश्च ।
 गायन्त्यद्याप्यब्जरम्याः सुवाप्यो देशे देशे शालिनीं यस्य कीर्तिं ॥ २८ ॥
 बहुहेमरौप्यगजवाजिमहीप्रमदादिरत्ननिचयं बहुशः ।
 प्रददाववारमनिशं निगदन् प्रमिताक्षरोपि बहुवागभवत्²² ॥ २९ ॥

1. प्रप्रीत²³समस्तवर्णाश्रमादपरिमितसुभगसाधुविद्वज्जनाधिष्ठानाद्विचित्रगजतुरग-
2. शिविकाधिरुढैर्महानरपतिभिरवनिपतिसेवार्थं गच्छद्भिः प्रत्यागच्छद्भिश्च
3. सङ्कुलमहाराजमार्गादसंख्यगजतुरगपदातिसाधननिरन्तरनिरुद्धसकलदिगन्तरादुद-
4. यवेलाचलोत्थितोत्तुङ्गतरुशरणविश्रान्तमत्तवर्हिणकेकारवोद्भ्रान्तभुजगव्रात-
5. मुक्तकुत्कारप्रकम्पितानेकतरुविलितकुसुमनिकरपरिमलसुरभिसलिलेन
6. तदुपवनलम्पदावानलदह्यमानकालागुरुधूमसम्भवाम्बुधरवृन्दसगन्जलौघ-
7. प्रवाहिना²³ । उदयतटमहीधरोपवनगन्धिपणाङ्कुरभुजां क्वचित् स्वयं भृतानामन्यत्र
8. प्रणयवद्धकुलयूथानामपरत्र वृकसङ्घविनिहतादभ्रभक्षितमांसोज्झितानां
9. कस्तूरिकाभृगाणां मदगन्धेनामोदितसकलतीरोपकण्ठनिवासिजनपदेन ।
10. ²⁴सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिमयूखमञ्जरीरञ्जितचरणपीठाम्बां श्रीकामेश्वरमहागौरी-
11. भट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः सततनितम्बक्षालनादधिकतरपवित्र-
12. पयःसम्पूर्णस्रोतसा²⁴ । मज्जद्विलासिनीकुचकलसतटाश्लिष्टमदपङ्काविलसगन्धाम्भसा ।
13. वेशाङ्गनाभिरिव नानाभरणशोभितप्रकटावयवाभिर्बालकुमारिकाभिरिव कनत्-
14. किङ्किणीभिः कार्णाटीभिरिव कठिनाभिघातसंवर्द्धितवेगाभिर्व्वारस्त्रीभिरिव चामर-

²² The portion from सम्पूर्णन्दोर्वियति up to the end of V. 29 is not given in the Parbatīyā plates.

²³ The clause beginning with प्रप्रीत and ending in प्रवाहिना is to be connected with श्रीलोलित्यभट्टारकेण occurring in line 18 below.

²⁴ In the Parbatīyā plates the portion beginning with सकलसुरासुर and ending with स्रोतसा occurs earlier between जलौघप्रवाहिना and उभयतटमहीधर.

15. धारिणिभि²⁵ दशवदनान्तःपुरिकाभिरिव हंसितसन्ततदशनाभिः पवनकामिनी-
 16. भिरिवाह्यन्तवेगवतीभिः रमणीयदलुहाङ्गनाभिरिव सकलजनमनोहारिणीभिः नदीभिरिव
 17. नर्त्तकपुरुषाक्रमणसंवर्द्धितोत्कम्पाभिर्दुर्गतदेवपालिभिरिव सततोत्तानस्थानकामिनीभि
 18. (नौभि) रलङ्कृतोभयतीरोपान्तदेशेन श्रीलौहित्यभट्टारकेण सनाथ-²⁵
 19. श्रीहारूपेश्वरात्²⁶ स परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरायण-
 20. चित्तको महाराजाधिराजश्रीवनमालवर्मदेवः कुगली²⁷ ॥*
 वभूव शाण्डिल्यकुलप्रदीपो वेदार्थविद्विज्जटनामधेयः ।
 साङ्गं यजुर्वेदमधीतवान् यस्यागी शुचिर्देवगुणोपपन्नः ॥ ३० ॥
 शौचविप्रगुणोपेता पत्नी सभ्रायिकामिधा ।
 माहम्येन विधिना सम्यक् परिणीता कुलोद्भवा ॥ ३१ ॥
 सुनुस्तयोर्वेदविदप्रजन्मा इन्दोकनामा गुणवान् वरिष्ठः ।
 तस्मै ददौ श्रीवनमालदेवो ग्रामं स मातापितृपुण्यहेतोः ॥ ३२ ॥
 त्रिजोतायाः पश्चिमतः सजलस्थलसंयुतं ।
 अभिशूरवाटकारुयमष्टसीमापरिच्छदं ॥ ३३ ॥
21. पूर्व्वेण दशलाङ्गलसहसीमा पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन चन्द्रपुरि ससीमा दक्षिणेन
 22. अवारि ससीमा । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन पुष्करिणीसहसीमा पश्चिमेन नौकुवासहसीमा
 23. उत्तरपूर्व्वेण दशलाङ्गलसहसीमा अष्टौ सीमा परिच्छदाः ॥ संवत्
 24. १७ उभिकाकच्छि ॥ (७ एवं चिह्नं तत्र ।

TRANSLATION

(In the light of the Bengali translation given by P. N. Bhattacharyya)

The legend of the seal

Let there be success.

Welfare to you all. The illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vanamāla-varmadeva, who belongs to the family of the Lords of Prāgjyotiṣa.

²⁵ The portion beginning with दशवदनान्तःपुरिकाभिरिव and ending with सनाथ does not occur in the Parbatīyā plates.

²⁶ Though we have retained here the reading suggested by P. N. Bhattacharyya, the name of the city should better be read as हडपेश्वर. See our notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman.

²⁷ The formal part of the inscription ending here is almost common with the corresponding part of the Parbatīyā plates, except for the differences shown in the foot notes. The readings which differ from the text of the Parbatīyā plates may be altered in the light of the said plates, if so desired. But we have preferred to reproduce the text as given by P. N. Bhattacharyya, without taking the liberty to change the same in absence of the original plates.

The text of the plates

Let there be success.

Welfare to you all.

Let you be protected by the river Lauhitya, which has sprinkled over the body of the celestial beings with showers, looking like the rays of the moon polluted with the mud of gold, gushing up on account of the waters dashing against the accumulation of huge gold-rocks of the Mount Kailāśa, and wherein the waters rendered red by the (Pārijāta) flowers of the flower-tree of the king of the heaven, which have fallen down from the (embellished) bundle of the hair of the (beautifully dressed) superior damsels of the heaven, who have indulged in a water-sport. (1)

Let you be purified by the Holder of the Pināka (i.e., Śiva) in whose head the waters of the (heavenly) Ganges, being scattered by the *recaka-vāyu* (i.e., *recaka* wind) look like a host of stars. (2)

There was a son of Ādhivarāha (i.e., Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation), from Bhū (i.e., the earth), named Naraka, born in time of saving her (i.e., the earth, from the universal deluge), who in time of stealing away the *kuṇḍalas* (i.e., ear-rings) of Aditi stole away the valour of Hari (i.e., Indra, Aditi's son) as well. (3)

Kṛṣṇa killed him (i.e., Naraka); but his heart being touched by the sad wailings of his wife spared his two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. (4)

Bhagadatta attained the illustrious position of the monarch of Prāgyotiṣa; and having come there worshipped Śiva with penance and all politeness. (5)

Being pleased with him, he (i.e., Śiva) gave him (i.e., Bhagadatta) the lordship also over Uparipattana and gave the lordship over Prāgyotiṣa to his progeny for the future time. (6)

In his family there occurred a king with the wonderful name Prālambha, who was the slayer of the heroes of the enemy force and whose foot-stool used to be illumined by the rays of the head-jewels of the (defeated) kings. (7)

He used to delight the ends of the quarters with good qualities like his predecessor kings beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Śrī Hariṣa. (8)

Āratha, the brother of this king, who was supreme amongst all kings by virtue of being matchless in respect of valour and spirit of sacrifice, who having an occasion to face the enemies, all alone, retired to the heaven like a hero. (9)

He had a dear wife named Śrī Jivādā, who was adorable to many and the progenitor of a great light like the morning twilight. (10)

He had a son from her, named, Harjara, who was a king of kings

(i.e., Nṛpendra), whose feet used to be worshipped by the heads of the kings and who used to be embraced by Lakṣmī herself. (11)

He was a Yudhiṣṭhira in the discussions on *dharma*; a Bhīma amongst the enemies; a Jīṣṇu (i.e., Arjuna) in the battle-field. Even being one, he was thus associated with many and he thoroughly attained the status of a man of polity. (12)

Lakṣmī, being an object of contempt, as it were, left the bosom of Viṣṇu, whose mind used to be delighted by a host of Gopīs, assumed the beauty of the body of all the women and came here (i.e., to the place of Harjara). (13)

"This (king) has all the qualities of my husband Cakrapāṇi (i.e., Viṣṇu, the holder of the wheel) including his colour and as such I shall not be the object of a censure of the world if I become the chief queen of this protector of the world." (14)

Lakṣmī, having thought like this became the chief queen of that king, being fully agreeable to his mental make-up and being the best amongst the women with the name Śrīmattarā. (15)

This king, the stool for the resting of whose lotus-feet used to be rubbed by the crests of all the (subordinate) kings, had from this queen a son illustrious like the moon, a king famed with the name Vanamāla, embellished with a garland of big jewels in the form of royal qualities. (16)

The Creator (*Dhātā*)²⁸ named him Vanamāla, seeing that he was fit for the kingship of the whole world upto the limits of the rows of forests (Vanamālā) lying on the shores of the ocean. (17)

Having dispelled the huge accumulation of darkness in the form of the crowds of intoxicated elephants of the powerful enemies in the battle-field, he behaved like a sun. (18)

Having dispelled the darkness in the form of enemies, he (also) behaved like a moon in the clear sky in the form of the line of kings belonging to the family of (Naraka) the son of the earth. (19)

He has led Lakṣmī to be alone in the company of only one husband by throwing off, with the sword in the form of a great valour, the whole host of the kings who were themselves like bolts to the mountain in the form of an army of highly proud enemy-heroes. (20)

Out of fear for his (i.e., Vanamāla's) prowess some of even those kings who have themselves defeated many enemies, ran away to various quarters and others took the path to the sky. (21)

And those amongst the other kings, who used to shoot sharp arrows in the battle field, left their own land at long distance out of fear for him. (22)

²⁸ The word *dhātā* has a pun. It may mean both 'the Creator' and his own 'father'. See notes below.

Those kings, who for a display of their valour used to arrange excited elephants against their enemies, had to salute him with folded palms. (23)

kā hā²⁹

(He was) the king who bore the burden (responsibility) of Nahuṣa by newly constructing with devotion the abode of Hāṭaka-śulin, whose feet are worshipped by all the gods with devotion, which (abode) is as tall as the peak of the Prāleyācala (i.e. Himālaya mountain) and endowed with matchless villages, people, elephants and courtizans, which had tumbled down to the earth earlier, in course of time. (24)

He was the king whose excessively white huge fame is moving about even to-day laughing at the lusture of the jewel of the Arantanāga in the Pātāla, at the fogs formed by the respiration of the quarter-elephants in the quarters and at the variagated pure rays of the moon in the sky. (25)

He, with truth, profundity, height, prowess, sacrifice and valour, surpassed the son of Dharma (i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira), the ocean, the mountain, the sun, Karna and the son of the wind (i.e., Hanumān or Bhīma) respectively. (26)

Seeing with own eyes that this whole world is whitened by the 'moon of his fame', the moon even today seems to rise in the sky, as it were, with shame. (27)

The temples with the sweet sound of the musical instruments and songs, the parks with the chantings of the performers of the sacrifices and the beautiful ponds, charming with the lotuses and scattered in various countries, even today proclaim his pure fame. (28)

He who has been making gifts of the best of (i.e. *ratna*) plenty of gold, silver, elephants, horses, land and women on numerous occasions and as such being compelled to utter the *dānavākya* incessantly, had to become a man of more speech (literally a chatter-box) though by nature he was a man of limited speech. (29)

(The city of Hārūpeśvara³⁰ is as follows :)

There the people belonging to all the castes and all the stages of life (*āśrama*) are extremely happy. This is the place of residence of innumerable fortunate and honest scholars, where the broad royal roads remain crowded with kings who come to pay homage to the monarch and go back being seated on colourful elephants, horses and *śivikās* (palkins) and where all the quarters always remain blocked with innumerable military

²⁹ Since we cannot translate these enigmatic words, we leave them as they are.

³⁰ Better read *Haḍapeśvara*. See our notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjara.

potentialities in the form of elephants, horses and soldiers. (lines 1 to 4). This prosperous city of Hārūppeśvara is blessed with the presence of the Lord Laubhity. (line 21) (This river Laubitya is as follows): In this river the waters have become fragrant on account of coming in contact with the pollens of the flowers, which have fallen down from various trees, shaken by the hissing sound of a crowd of snakes, frightened by the cackling sound of the excited peacocks that have been reclining in their homes in the tall trees standing on the Udayavelācala (i.e., the tallest mountain of the eastern region) (lines 4 to 6). (This was the river) where the waves are rendered fragrant by the clouds formed by the smokes of black *agaru* trees burnt by the forest-fire occurring in the parks of the city of Hārūppeśvara.³¹ (lines 6 to 7). The regions on the bank of this river remain plunged in the aroma of the secretions of the musk-deer, who feed on the shoots of the scented leaves of the trees growing on bowers of the chief mountain of the eastern region (literally the region where the sun rises) and who move either alone or in herds being attached with love to the chief of a group or in smaller groups spared by the herds of leopards, which kill a number of deer and get over-fed on their flesh. (lines 8 to 10). The current of this river is full with waters which have become purer on account of constantly flowing over the slopes of the mountain Kāmakūṭa, at the top of which there is the residence of the illustrious god Kāmeśvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī, whose foot-stool is illumined by the series of rays issuing from the crest-jewels of all the gods and demons (lines 11-13). The waters in this river are fragrant on account of being addled with the mud of musk besmeared on the surface of the pitcher-like breasts of luxurious ladies who have taken a plunge. (lines 13 to 14)

The regions adjoining both the banks of this river are embellished with rows of boats (which were as follows:) (line 20).

The boats, like harlots, display the bodies, embellished with varieties of ornaments. They wear jingling bells like small girls. They get their speed accelerated by hard strokes like the women of Karṇāṭa (who get excited by hard assaults). Like prostitutes they hold chowries (*cāmaras*). They have red teeth (all round their person) like the Jamsels of the harem of (the ten-headed) Rāvaṇa. They are extremely speedy as if they are consorts of (god) Pavana (i.e., Vāyu). They charm one and all like the beautiful women of *Daluhā*. Like dancing girls, their trembling increase with the approach of dancers. They always desire to remain in a higher position (i.e., a higher level of water) like the gods who happen to have a down fall. (lines 14 to 20)

From this city of Hārūppeśvara,³¹ Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vanamāla-

³¹ Better read Haḍapeśvara. See notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman.

deva, who is a great devotee of Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva), engrossed in the meditation on the feet of the parents, with his soul attached to the supreme god, enjoys well-being (lines 21-23) (and makes the gift of a village³²)

There was a generous brāhmin, with pure godly qualities, named Bhijjāta, who was like a lamp in the family of the brāhmins of Śaṇḍilya *gotra*, and who studied the whole of *Yajurveda* along with the ancillaries (*aṅgas*) (V. 30)

His wife named Sabhāyikā, who was endowed with pure qualities of a brāhmin lady and belonged to a noble family, had been duly married according to the customs of the brāhmins. (31)

Both of them had a great highly qualified brāhmin named Indoka as their son. King Śrī Vanamāla is making the gift of a village to him (i.e., Indoka) for the religious merit of his parents. (32)

This village is on the western side of river Trisrotā, contains both land and waters, is demarcated by eight boundaries and is known as the Abhisūravātaka. (33)

Eastern boundary is common to that of Daśalāṅgala, *south-eastern* boundary to that of Candrapuri, *southern* boundary to that of Avāri, *south-western* boundary to that of the Puṣkariṇī (i.e., the tank). *Western* boundary is common to that of Naukuvā, *north-eastern* boundary to that of Daśalāṅgala. These are the eight boundaries. (lines 24-27)

The (regnal) year 19. *Chabhiḱakachi*. ‘ṣ’ — a symbol like this is there. (line 27)

NOTES

General

This C.P. records the gift of a village to Indoka, a learned brāhmin. But the record has come down to us in a corrupt form in respect of many information. The last four lines speak of recording eight boundaries; but in fact we are precisely told of only six boundaries. There are many other incorrect records. But happily we are now in the possession of the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamāla in original and on the strength of these plates the wrong information of the Tezpur c.p. may be corrected as follows :

1. Prālabha, the name of the elder brother of Harjara's father should be read as Śālabha, (V. 7).
2. Name of Harjara's father was Arathi and not Āratha (V. 9).
3. Name of Harjara's wife was Śrīmaṅgalā and not Śrīmattarā (V. 15). She is also called Maṅgalaśrī in the Hāyungthal c.p. of Harjara (L. 24).

³² This verb is supplied in V. 32.

4. Harjara's mother was Jivadevī and not Jivadā (V. 10). But such slight difference in name might have been quite plausible for the sake of metre or variety.
5. On the strength of the reading of the Parbatīyā plates, we may hold that the name of the capital city was Haḍapeśvara also in the Tezpur plates and not Hārūppeśvara (line. 21). See our notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Hajarvarman.
6. The present transcript of the Tezpur plates inform that Bhagadatta obtained the lordship also of Uparipattana. But according to Parbatīyā plates Bhagadatta got Prāgjyotiṣa and his brother Vajradatta became the lord of Uparipattana. (See, for all these corrections, Dr. D. C. Sircar, 'Recent Studies in the Epigraphic Records of Assam', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, January 1969, and P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX. No. 20. p. 149 ff.).

Legend

The legend begins with the auspicious sign *āñjī*. The main text of the plates also begin with this very sign. P. N. Bhattacharyya holds that the *āñjī* is different from *Om* since both are used in certain places as in Nayapāla's Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple plate and Govindapāla's Vasudeva Temple plate (*Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V. plate Nos. XXV and XXVII). This *āñjī* is connected with the *Ṣaṭcakras* (i.e., the mystic nerve-centres) of the Tantras and probably stands as a symbolic representation of the *Kuṇḍalinī* nerve which resembles a serpent. Another point of difference between *āñjī* and *Omkāra* is that the former belongs to the *madhyamā* stage and the latter to the *vaikhārī* stage of speech. (see *Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 55-56.). Western scholars do not generally distinguish between *Omkāra* and *āñjī*. J. J. Boeles (Bangkok) discusses the use of the numerous variations of this mystic symbol (including many like the present one and taking it as identical with *Omkāra*), as used not only in India through ages but also in greater India and other Asian find-spots, in a very interesting articles and quotes from Hoernle's *Bower Manuscripts* to show that the Bower MSS contain several variations of the *āñjī* including one that we have in the present inscriptions. (See, Boeles, 'The migration of the magic syllable Om,' in *India Antiqua*, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1974, pp. 40-56.) In the English transcription of the inscriptions the *āñjī* symbol is represented by the word *siddham*. cf. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX. No. 26 p. 153. See also, D. C. Sircar, *Golssary*, pp. 310 f.

- V. 1. The word *Sindhu* may mean both a sea and a river ; when it means a river, the same is supposed to be as large as the ocean. For a further probable significance of the expression *sindhu* in this

context, see, P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX. No. 20. p. 151).

A benediction in name of Lauhitya is seen also in the Nowgong grant of Balavarman (V. 2), the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla (V. 2), the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla (V. 3), and the Guvākuci grant of Indrapāla (V. 3). Brahmaputra is comparatively a modern name for Lauhitya, Lauhitya is referred to also in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, 4.81, the Mandsor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yasodharma-deva, V. 5 (Vide, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, p. 137) and the Aphsad Stone Inscription of Ādityasena, V. 14 (Vide, *Ibid*, p. 151). But both the names Lauhitya and Brahmaputra (*brahmaṇaḥ sutaḥ*) are recognised and explained by the KP. ch. 83 verses 30, 33. The word *subhūṣa* is supplied by Pandit Kamalakanta of the Asiatic Society. There is an Atiśayokti *alaṃkāra* in this verse as in many other verses of these plates.

V. 2. There is an Upamā in *tārakā-prakarāyitam* of the *luṭta* variety involving a *kyāṇ-pratyaya*.

V. 3. cf. Dubi c.p. V. 3. See also the grants of Balavarman and the Gachital grant of Gopāla (V. 7) for references to the *kuṇḍala-haraṇa* episode. For the sources of the said episode see Introduction.

V. 4. *Ṣṛṣṭau*=spared (*viṣṛṣṭau*).

According to *Gaṇadarpaṇa* this meaning can be had only from the root *ṣṛi* preceded by *vi* and *ut*. This rare use can be supported by a parallel use in *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan, 162-31 (*sākṣāṇmaghavatā ṣṛṣṭaḥ*), whereupon the commentator Nilakaṇṭha says that *ṣṛṣṭa* means *visarjita*.

Here Bhagadatta and Vajradatta are recorded as brothers. Vajradatta is identified as a son of Bhagadatta in the Dubi and Nidhanpur C.P.s of Bhāskara and the Gauhati and Guākuci C.P.s of Indrapāla. In other records where Vajradatta is referred to, he is identified as Bhagadatta's brother as in the present case. In the Aśvamedhaparvan of *Mahābhārata* (ch. 75-76), Vajradatta is described as the son of Bhagadatta. In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (40/1-2) Vajradatta is not named as one of the four sons of Naraka. cf.

ऋतुमत्यान्तु जायायां काले स नरकः क्रमात् ।

मगदत्तं महाशीर्षं मदवन्तं सुमालिनं ॥

चतुरो जनयामास पुत्रानेतान् क्षितेः सुतः ।

So, in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* also Vajradatta is not given as a brother of Bhagadatta.

- V. 6. The word *Upāripattana* literally means 'the town above,' but the region indicated by this name cannot be identified. This name is not found in any other known record. Yet it may be taken roughly to be the hilly regions (*upari*?) lying on the northern (*upari*?) boundary of Kāmarūpa.
- V. 10. There is an Upamā alamkāra based on *Śleṣa* (pun), which we have in the word *tejas*, which means either light or a man (here a son) with lustre.
- V. 12. The last *pada* of the verse is not very clear in meaning and construction. We have pun in the words Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Jīṣṇu, which also mean steady in battle (or in disputations), terrible, and victorious, respectively. P. N. Bhattacharyya, explains that Jīṣṇu is another name of Arjuna (*Śaśanāvalī* p. 67). But according to *Amara*, Jīṣṇu is another name of Indra. cf.

इन्द्रो मरुत्वान् मघवा विरौजाः पाकशासनः ।

जिष्णुर्लैखर्षभः शक्रः शतमन्युर्दिवस्पतिः ॥ (अमर, स्वर्गवर्ग-१)

Amara nowhere gives Arjuna as a meaning of the word *jīṣṇu*. But in many other traditional lexicons Arjuna is given as a meaning of the said word. cf.

जिष्णुर्ना वासवेर्जुने । जित्वरे वाच्यवत् (मेदिनीकोष) ; जिष्णुः शक्रे घनक्षये ।
जित्वरे च (विश्वकोष) ; जिष्णुः शक्रेऽर्जुने विष्णौ जित्वरेऽर्के वसुध्वपि
(हेमचन्द्र) ; जेतरीन्द्रेऽर्जुने जिष्णुः (त्रिकाण्डशेष) .

(See Anundoram Borooh, *Nānārtha-saṅgraha*, p. 132).

Since, the earlier two words having pun, name the first and the second Pāṇḍavas, it is preferable to take the alternative meaning of Jīṣṇu as Arjuna and not Indra. This verse is marvellous in so far as it has an Ullekha alamkāra of the *Viśayabheda* variety based on an Atiśayokti which is on its own part, based on *Śleṣa*. Cf.

गुर्वचसि पृथुरसि भर्जुनो यशसि इत्यादिषु चास्य रूपकाद् विविक्तो विषय इति ।
अत्र हि श्लेषमूलातिशयोक्तियोगः

in the context of Ullekha under *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. X. 53. There is also a *Virodhābhāsa* alamkāra in the portion :

एकोप्यनेकैरिति संगतो यः,

which presents a case of Saṅkara alamkāra with the said Ullekha.

- V. 13. There is an Utprekṣā alamkāra in the verse.
- VV. 14 & 15. These two verses are to be read together and the two verses together present an Atiśayokti alamkāra.

V. 16. There is a Rūpaka in the first half and an Upamā in the second half.

V. 17. This verse presents an Atiśayokti alamkāra based on Śleṣa. According to the religious tradition the father of the child should give the name (*ekādaśe'hani pitā nāma kuryāt.*) Hence, Vanamāla was, for all practical purposes, named by his father. But in this act of naming and fixing the connotation of the name the desire of the Creator (i.e., God) is also basically involved. The Naiyāyika claims that the very tradition of the father naming the son is due to an injunction of the *Vedas*, which having originated from the Creator, involves His desire (i.e., the desire of God, *Īśvarecchā*). Thus the desire of God being involved even in case of the connotation of a modern name, connotation (*śakti*) in general may be explained as the intention of God (*Īśvarecchā*). That is why it is meet and proper on the part of the poet to say '*dhātā nāma cakre*' with a pun in the word *dhātā*, meaning the Creator and the father. Compare for the said tradition :

शक्तिश्च पदेन सह पदार्थस्य सम्बन्धः । सा चास्माच्छब्दादयमर्थो बोद्धव्य इतीश्वरे-
च्छारूपा । आधुनिके नान्नि शक्तिरस्त्येव । एकादशेऽहनि पिता नाम कुर्यादिति-
श्वरेच्छायाः सत्त्वात् । (*Bhāṣāpariccheda*, Śabdakhaṇḍa)

The classical poets often indulge in giving an etymological explanation justifying the names of their heroes or heroines. cf. *Naiṣadhacarita*, II. 18.,

भुवनत्रयस्रुवामसौ दमयन्ती कमनीयतामदम् ।

उदियाय यतस्तनुश्रिया दमयन्तीति ततोऽमिधां दधौ ॥

"This one has taken birth with all her physical beauty to subdue (*damayanti*) the pride of beauty of the beautiful damsels of all the three worlds, and hence has assumed the name Damayanti."

In my opinion the origin of this art of the classical poets may be traced back even to the earliest etymological speculations as we have them recorded in the Vedic literature. cf.

सोऽरोदीव तद्रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वम्

(*Taittiriya Saṁhitā*, 1-5-1-1, 2) "Rudra is called Rudra because he cried" (*arodīt*). The verb *arodīt* is derived from the root *rud*, to cry.

V. 18. There is a Rūpaka in the first half and an Upamā in *divākarāyitam*.

V. 19. There is a Rūpaka in the first half and an Upamā in *Mṛgānkāyitam*.

- V. 20. The first half involves two Rūpakas and the whole verse presents an Atiśayokti.
- V. 21. This verse and the following two verses present three Vyatireka alamkāras through suggestion.
- V. 24. The word *śūlin* means Śiva. The name Hetukaśūlin possibly means the Śiva (image) established by a person named Hetuka. P. N. Bhattacharyya gives the reading *Hāṭakaśūlinah* in place of the Journal-reading *Hetuka śūlinah*. The word *hāṭaka* means 'indigenous gold'. Hence *Hāṭaka-śūlin* may mean 'the Śiva -(image) made of indigenous gold.' But in the Parbatīya plates the reading is clearly *hetukaśūlinah*.
- V. 25. This verse involves a *kavisamaya* (i.e., a poetical convention) according to which fame is white. Cf. "mālinyam vyomni pāpe yaśasi dhvalatā varṇyate hāsakīrtyoḥ" (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, vii). There are three *Vyatireka* alamkāras presenting an Atiśayokti as a whole.
- V. 26. There are four *Vyatireka* alamkāras and a Saṁsrṣṭi of these four.
- V. 27. Rūpaka in the first half and a Guṇotprekṣā in the second half.
- V. 28. There is a Tulyayogitā alamkāra in the verse. The verse is in śālinī metre and the poet very intelligently employs the word *śālinī* in the same verse in another sense. (See note on the next verse also.)
- V. 29. There is a Virodhābhāsa-alamkāra in the fourth *pāda* (i.e., 'pramītākṣaro'pi bahuvāgabhavat). This verse is in Pramītākṣarā metre and here also the poet uses the word *pramītākṣarā* in another sense intelligently. This technique was followed by Gaṅgādāsa in *Chandomaṇjarī* and earlier by Kālidāsa in *Śrutobodha*, in time of defining a metre. It is very interesting to note that in Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṁhitā*, one whole chapter (i.e. ch. 104, viz. *Grahagocarādhyāya*) presents such verses, to describe the effects of *grahas* in their different positions, which contain the names of the various metres in which they are themselves composed: cf.

वनस्रस्रस्रखयोपिन्मित्रवाहासितुष्टि-

स्तुहिनकिरणपुत्रे लाभगे मृष्टवाक्यः ।

रिपुपरिभवरोगैः पीडितो द्वादशस्थे

न सहति परिभोक्तुं मालिनीयोगसौख्यम् ॥ (104.24)

This interesting feature is present also in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, where one whole canto (i.e. X/31) containing references to Lakṣmī (Indirā)

is composed in the Indirā metre and the very first verse of the canto is so composed as to use the word *Indirā* in some other sense. Cf.

जयति तेऽधिकं जन्मना व्रजः श्रयत इन्दिरा शश्वदन्न हि ।

दयित दृश्यतां दिक्षु तावकास्त्वयि धृतासवस्त्वां विचिन्वते ॥ (10. 31. 1)

NOTES ON THE PROSE PORTION

In the whole of the prose portion we have only one sentence. It wants to say that (1) Vanamāla issues the charter from the capital city of Haḍapeśvara which stands on the bank of the river Lauhitya, (2) On the river there are boats which look like *veśyās*, etc. and (3) There is a brief description of the city in the usual way in the lines 1 to 3. The Asiatic Society reading for the name of the capital city was *हरयेशन*. P. N. Bhattacharya emends it as *हारूपेश्वर*. In our opinion it should be read as *हडपेश्वर* on the strength of a very clear reading of the Parbatīyā plates. (See notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjara.)

We have a series of Upamās in lines 13 to 17.

The whole passage is rich in *padalālitya*,³³ because of a preponderance of conjunct consonants involving nasals (i.e., fifth letters of the *varga*). e.g. - - - *sambhavāmbudharavṛndasugandhi* in line 6.

Line 11. There is a reference to Kāmakūṭagiri, "on which the god Kāmeśvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī are said to have been installed. The names of the hill Kāmakūṭa and the god Kāmeśvara suggest that the goddess Mahāgaurī is no other than the goddess Kāmā or Kāmākhyā, whose temple stands on the Nilācala hill near Gauhati. According to the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, the god Kāmeśvara and the goddess Kāmeśvarī (installed on the Nilaparvata) were worshipped in Kāmarūpa.³⁴ The Nilaparvata is called Kāmagiri elsewhere in the *Purāṇa*³⁵ and the hill seems to be the same as the Kāmakūṭa mentioned in the inscription" (D. C. Sircar, 'Recent Studies in the Epigraphic Records of Assam', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Jan. 1969, p. 42. For greater details see D. C. Sircar and P. D. Chaudhuri, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX. No. 20. pp. 151 f.)

³³ For the implication of the term *padalālitya* see, Mukunda Madhava Sharma, 'The three qualities of Māgha' in *Birinchi Kumar Barua Com. Volume*. (ed. by Dr. M. Neog and Dr. M. M. Sharma.)

³⁴ कामरूपं महापीठं तथा कामेश्वरीं शिवाम् ।

नीलं च पर्वतश्रेष्ठं नाथं कामेश्वरं तथा ॥ (क. पु. ६४-४८)

³⁵ कामरूपे कामगिरौ न्यपतद् योनिमण्डलम् । (का. पु. १८-४२)

P. C. Choudhury also takes the Kāmakūṭa to be identical with the Nilācala where Kāmākhyā is worshipped. (*HCPA*. p. 420). But P. N. Bhattacharyya believes that most probably the Kāmakūṭagiri was some low hill containing some old temple lying somewhere near the modern town of Tezpur. (*Kṣ. Intr.* p. 22). Dr. Dharmeswar Chutia, who did his Ph.D. under my supervision, gives a suggestion that from the inscription we gather an impression that the waters of the river must have already become purified by washing the slopes of the Kāmakūṭagiri before coming to the region of the city of Haḍapeśvara. So the Kāmakūṭagiri should be located at a little distance, in the eastern direction, from the modern town of Tezpur. It is further suggested that (i) Kāmkūṭa may be same as the present Bāmuni hill, to the east of modern Tezpur, where extensive ruins of stone buildings are lying scattered. (ii) Kāmakūṭa may be identical with the Nāṭakaśaila described in the Kālikāpurāṇa (ch. 51) as the place of a regular soft dalliance of Gaurī and Hara. Cf.

ऐशान्यां नाटके शैले शंकरस्य महाश्रमः ।

नित्यं वसति तत्रेशस्तदधीना च पार्वती ॥ (v. 82)

कामरूपं गमिष्यावौ रहस्यं नाटकाचलम् ।

गौरीहरौ स्थितौ यत्र नित्यं सन्निहितौ मुने ॥ (v. 85)

नाटकं पर्वतश्रेष्ठं गच्छतं नरसत्तमौ ।

तत्र नित्यं महादेवो रमतेऽर्पण्या सह ॥ (v. 88)

(iii) It may be further conjectured that the temple of Hetuka-śulin was situated on this very Nāṭakaśaila.

Line 16. *Daluhāṅganā* : P. N. Bhattacharyya retains the word as it is in the Bengali translation in his *Śāsanāvālī* apparently with much reluctance. In the English translation of Pandit Sarada Prasad *Danuha* was taken as a nation (See *Kṣ.* p. 69, n. 3). The word is most probably handed down to us in a corrupt form. If it is taken to mean a nation or tribe, the word *daluha* or *daluhā* may have some relation with the Daflās (Dafalās), a tribe belonging to the Daflā hills a few miles north of Tezpur, in the Sovansiri district of Arunachal. According to P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar (*Ep. Ind.* XXIX. No. 20) "the expressions *daluhāṅganābhiḥ* and *devapālībhiḥ* are doubtful." According to B. Kakati "The compound seems to mean 'temple women'. *Daluha* seems to be an Austric formation. c.f. *dol*, *haleh*, *hai*, *hie*, *hi*, - - - Modern Assamese retains *dol*, a temple, shrine; *doloi*, a temple officer." (Place and personal names in the early land grants of Assam', *CHA*, Appendix I).

V. 30. *Bhijjāta* : This name has much resemblance with Allāṭa, Kallāṭa, Mammaṭa, etc. Hence it is not unlikely that Bhijjāta originally belonged to Kashmir.

V. 32. *Indoka*: The name Indoka also reminds us of the Kashmirian scholars Indurāja, the teacher of Abhinavagupta, and Pratihārendurāja, commentator of Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyaśaṅkārāsāra-saṁgraha*.³⁶

V. 33. *Aṅgīśūravāṭaka*: *Vāṭaka* means a garden and in certain places it is a corrupt form of *pāṭaka*, 'part of a village', often suffixed to names of localities. (vide Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 367). Compare Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla, or Merupāṭaka in line 30 in the Khanāmukh C.P. of Dharmapāla.

Trisrotā: It is already noted in p. 63 (fn. 69) that there were at least three Trisrotās in ancient Kāmarūpa. But because of the contiguity of the Candrapuri Viśaya the Trisrotā of this C.P. cannot be the Dhirai river of Tezpur. The location of the donated land is roughly indicated to be to the west of the Trisrotā. It is not said that the land was just on the western bank of the Trisrotā. The manner in which the river is referred to here, shows that the river was a more celebrated one. Hence, the Trisrotā referred to here must be the most celebrated Karatoyā river which is described as the river Gaṅgā of Dvāpara.

Line 24: The concluding words *evam cihnam tatra* preceded by the Assamese/Bengali numeral nine and a bracket sign seem to have been added by Pandit Kamalakānta as an editorial remark.

³⁶ It is also not unlikely that both Indurāja and Pratihārendurāja were the same person. See my *Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 14.

No. 10. THE PARBATĪYĀ COPPER PLATES OF
VANĀMALAVARMADEVA

(Middle of the 9th Century)

Reference : P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar, *EP. Ind.* vol. xxix. No. 20., pp. 145-159.

Place & History : A set of three copper plates along with a seal was discovered by a cultivator while tilling his field at the village of Parbatīyā, three miles away from the Tezpur town of District Darrang, Assam. Through Shri Biswadev Sarma, then a student of Earl Law College, Gauhati, and till recently a Cabinet Minister in Assam, and Shri S. K. Dutta, then the Principal of the said Law College and now the Vice-Chancellor, Kurukshetra University, the set of plates reached the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, where it is preserved as a property.

Description : The plates measure 10" × 6.2". The attached seal measures 4.7" in length and 4.3" in breadth, and it is of almost the same description as of the other seals of the Kāmarūpa kings. The legend of the seal reads :

1. *Svasti Śrīmān Prāgjyotiṣādhipānva-*
2. *yo mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vanamā-*
3. *lavarmmadeva(h).*

The text of the charter covers the inner pages of the first and the last plates and both the pages of the middle plate. The number of lines in the pages is as follows : Plate 1, inner side-15 lines ; Plate 2, obverse-16 lines ; reverse-15 lines ; and plate 3, inner side-13 lines ; total being 59 lines.

Like the enigmatic *kā*, *hā* letters of the Tezpur plates of Vanamāla, there are certain redundant enigmatic letters in these plates also. Thus, in the margin, of the inner page of plate 1 there is a *śrī* ; in the second page of plate 2 there is a *sa* and in the first page of plate 2 there are the letters *śrī*, *śrī*, *sa*, *sa*, *sta* (?) and two other enigmatic signs.

Script : "The characters employed belong to the East-Indian variety of the Siddhamātrkā or Kuṭila script of the ninth century, sometimes called Early Nāgarī or Proto-Bengali. Some of the *akṣharas* (cf. *ā*, *kh*, *g*, *j*, *s*, medial *e* and *au*, etc.)

closely resemble their Bengali-Assamese forms".³⁷ In this inscription the letters are very clear and hence this can be very conveniently and profitably used to improve on many an incorrect reading of the earlier inscription of Vanamāla.

Language : The language of this inscription is Sanskrit. The language is generally chaste and elegant. There are, however, a few metrical errors and a few grammatical mistakes which are noticed in the notes. There are also many mistakes caused by the inadvertence of the scribe like the one noted in foot note No. 1 to line 52. The formal part of this grant from the beginning up to *Vanamālavarmadevaḥ kuśali* (in line 48 of the present grant) is common with the Tezpur grant of the king except in case of two passages of considerable length, which have been omitted from the present inscription. There are thirty verses (one of them³⁸ being a half-verse), two of them being common maṅgala ślokaś. Due to omission of a half verse and four more stanzas and a long prose passage it appears that the inscription has been less carefully copied from the draft.

Date : The inscription is not dated. No regnal year is mentioned therein. As the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Vanamāla's father Harjara is dated, Gupta 510 corresponding to 829 A.D. the present inscription may be roughly placed in the middle of the ninth century A.D.

General remark : There is hardly any room for improving on the text and the translation of this inscription published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The introductory notes, given there, are comprehensive and highly informative. We have, however, preferred to reproduce the original text with all the linguistic peculiarities, generally found in the Kāmarūpa inscriptions. The following orthographical features are noteworthy :

(i) No distinction between *b* and *v*. (ii) Only *v* and *ṇ* are reduplicated after a *repha*. (iii) Retention of a final *anusvāra*.

The first 25 verses are common with those of the Tezpur grant. After v. 25 there are another 8 verses in the said

³⁷ Chaudhuri and Sircar, *Ep. Ind.* vol. xxix. No. 20. p. 145. This remark applies to most of the later Kāmrūpa inscriptions with slight changes here and there due to either change of time or due to change of the individual taste of the scribes.

³⁸ V. No. 25.

grant and in the present grant v. 25 is followed by 5 more, which are not common to the Tezpur grant.

Metres : v. 1, Sragdharā ; vv. 2, 18, 29-30 ; Anuṣṭubh ; vv. 3-6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23, Āryā ; vv. 7, 12, 13, Indravajrā ; v. 10, Gīti variety of Āryā ; v. 14, Vasantatilakā ; vv. 16, 25, Mandākrāntā ; v. 20, Rathoddhatā ; vv. 24, 26, 27, Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; v. 28, Upajāti (of 3 Indravajrās and 1 Upendravajrā).

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. ६^{३९} स्वस्ति । श्रीमत्केलाशभूमत्पृथुकनकशिलासज्ज्वयास्फालनोत्थैरासारैर्हेमपङ्काविलनु-
2. हिनजडैः सिक्तवैमानिसार्थः । अम्भः क्रीडाप्रसक्तप्रवरधुरवधूकेणहस्तच्युतेव्वौ नाके-
3. शद्रुप्रसूनैरुणितसलिलोव्यात् स लौहित्यसिन्धुः ॥१॥ स पुनातु पिनाकी वो यन्नाद्ये
स्वर्दु-
4. नीजलम् । कीर्णं रेचकवातेन तारकाप्रकरायितम् ॥२॥ नरक इति सुनुरासीदा-
दिवराहस्य भु-
5. वि तदुद्धारे । अदितेः कुण्डलहरणे प्रतापमपि यो हरेरहरत् ॥३॥ कृष्णेन तस्मिहस्य
च सु-
6. द्यौ भगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यौ । तस्य द्यतौ तद्वनिताकरुणविलापहतहृदयेन ॥४॥ संप्राप्ते
भगदत्ते
7. श्रीमत्प्रागज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वम् । वनमितरोपि तदेत्य प्राराधयदीश्वरन्तपसा ॥५॥
तुष्टेन
8. तेन तस्मै दत्तमुपरिपत्तनाधिनाथत्वम् । प्रागज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन त(द)न्मय-
स्यापि ॥६॥
9. तस्यान्वयेभूत् क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिस्फुरिताङ्घ्रिपीठः । प्रागज्योतिषे-
10. शः क्षतवैरिवीरः सालम्भ इत्युद्धतनामधेयः ॥७॥ सत्पूर्व-नृपतिगुणसम्पदौघरागानु-
11. रञ्जितदिगन्तैः । सालस्तम्भप्रमुखैः श्रीहर्षान्तैर्मर्महीपालैः । दिवमारुढैराद्यस्य^{४०} भूभुजोने-
12. कवैरिवीरोभूत् । आता शौर्यत्यागैरसमो नास्त्रारथीति नृपः ॥८॥ श्रीजीवदेवीसंज्ञा राज्ञी

^{३९} This mystic *āñjī* symbol is represented by P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar by the word *siddham*.

^{४०} P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar suggest that a reading *yuktasya* would have been more suitable. In my opinion the given reading is a scribal error for *ādhyasya*.

13. हृदयानुगाभवत्तस्य । बहुजनवन्द्या महतः प्रभातसन्ध्येव तेजसो जननी ॥१०॥
तस्यान्तस्य तु
14. राजः सुतोभवन्नृप⁴¹ शिरोर्चिताङ्घ्रियुगः । श्रीहर्जरो नृपेन्द्रः श्रिया स्वयं यः
समुपगूढः ॥११॥
15. धर्मप्रवादेषु युधिष्ठिरो यो भीमोरिवर्गे समरे च जिष्णुरेकोप्यनेकैरिति सद्गुणौ⁴²-

Second Plate : Obverse

16. धैर्निःशेषकुन्तीतनयत्वमेतः ॥१२॥ गोपीजनारक्षितमानसस्य सेष्यैव वक्षः परिहृत्य
विष्णोः । निः-
17. शेषरामाजनदेहसंस्थमादाय सौन्दर्यमिहाजगाम ॥१३॥ वण्णायशेषगुणजातमयम्बभार
पत्यु-
18. मंमातुलवलस्य रथाङ्गपाणेः । तेनाहमग्रमहिषी जगतीभुजोस्य भूता जने न खलु
लाघवमभ्यु-
19. पैमि ॥१४॥ इति यस्य महादेवी विगणय्य मनोनुगाभवलक्ष्मीः । श्रीमङ्गलाभिधाना
प्रमदारत्नोत्तमन्-
20. पतेः ॥१५॥ तस्याशेषक्षितिपमकुटोद्गृष्टपादाब्जपीठस्याभूत्सूनुर्नृपगुणमहारत्नमाला-
विभूषः
21. तस्यान्देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्द⁴³को यः शशीव श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमाला-
भिधानः क्षिती⁴⁴।
22. शः ॥१६॥ जलनिधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनीपतित्वस्य । योग्य इति नाम धाता च-
23. क्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ॥१७॥ प्रचण्डारातिमत्तेमघटाध्वान्तोरुसंहतिम् । दिवाकरायितं
24. येन विदार्य रणभूमिषु ॥१८॥ क्षितितनयनृपवंशप्रभवनरेन्द्रामलाम्बरे येन । स्फु-
25. टमेव मृगाङ्गायितमुत्सार्यारातिति(मि)रौघम् ॥१९॥ भूरिदृसरिपुवीरवाहिनीशैलव-
26. ज्रमुरुविक्रमासिना । येन राजकमशेषमस्यता श्रीरकारि चिरमेकभर्तृका ॥२०॥ यस्य
प्रतापमीत्या
27. बहुरिपुजयिनोपि मेदिनीपाला(ः) (।) केचिदिशो⁴⁵ विजगुहुः प्रसभमलं
चामराण्यन्ये ॥२१॥ राज्ञामन्येषां

⁴¹ This line up to प is now badly corroded.

⁴² The last word is now badly corroded.

⁴³ In the *Ep. Ind.* (vol. xxix. No. 20) part of line 21 ending here is wrongly shown at the end of line 20, wrongly beginning line 21 with *ko yah* etc.

⁴⁴ The original reading of the plate is क्षिति.

⁴⁵ The original reading of the plate is केचिदिशो.

28. ये निशितानाजाविषूतपा⁴⁶मुमुचुः । यस्य त एव विभीत्या भूमीदूरस्त्रिजं
विजहुः ॥२२॥ यैरभिमुखं रिपू-
29. णामाघटिता मत्तकरिघटावन्धाः । तैर्विक्रमैकहेतोर्यस्याञ्जलयः कृताः(ः) क्षितिपैः ॥२३॥
धूरुहे नहु-
30. यस्य येन पतितं कालान्तरादालयं सौधं भक्तिनताखिलामरवरत्रातार्चिताङ्गैः पुनः ।
प्रालेया-
31. चलश्चङ्गनुङ्गमतुलग्रामेभवेभ्याजनैर्युक्तं हेतुकशूलिनः क्षितिभुजा भक्त्या नवं
चक्रुषा ॥२४॥॥

Second Plate : Reverse

32. यस्यानन्तद्युतिमत्तिसिता नागलोके हसन्ती । दिङ्नागानां श्वसितजनितां शीकरा-
लीञ्च दिक्षु⁴⁷ ॥२५॥
33. प्रप्रीत⁴⁸ समस्तवर्णाश्रमादपरिमितस्रष्टसाधुविद्वज्जनाधिष्ठानाद्विचित्रगजतुरगशिबि-
34. कारुटेर्महानरपतिभिरवनिपतितेवार्थं गच्छद्भिः प्रत्यागच्छद्भिश्च सङ्कुलमहाराजमा-
35. गादसंख्यगजतुरगपदातिसाधननिरन्तरनिरुद्धसकलदिगन्तरादुभयवेलाचलो-
36. त्थितात्तुङ्गतस्त्रुगहनविभ्रान्तमत्तवर्हिणकेकारवोद्भ्रान्तभुजगत्रातमुक्तफुत्कारपवनप्र-
37. कम्पितानेकलताविगलितकुसुमनिकरपरिमलसुरभिसलिलेन तदुपवनलप्रदा-
38. वानलदद्यमानकृष्णागरुधूमसम्भवाभ्युधरवृष्टसुगन्धिजलौघप्रवाहिणा ।
39. ⁴⁹सकलसुरासुरमकुटमणिमयूखमञ्जरीरञ्जितचरणपीठाभ्यां श्रीकामेश्व-
40. रमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः⁵⁰ सततनितम्ब-
41. क्षालनादधिकतरपवित्रपयःसम्पूर्णोत्तसा⁵¹ । उभयतटमहीधरोपवन-ग्रन्थिपण्णा-
42. ङ्गुरभुजां कचित्स्वयं⁵² मृतानामन्यत्र पुण्डरीकैर्हृतयूथानामपरत्रवृकसङ्घैर्विनिहतार्द्धभ—

⁴⁶ Read नृपा.

⁴⁷ This is the first half of a full verse in Mandākrāntā metre. The whole verse is given in the Tezpur grant. There are four more verses in the said grant, which are not given in the present grant.

⁴⁸ The prose passage which begins in line 33 of this grant corresponds to the prose passage following v. 29 of the Tezpur grant.

⁴⁹ See note 51 below.

⁵⁰ Read गिरेः. The विसर्ग after गि given in the plate is redundant.

⁵¹ The passage *sakala surāsura srotasā* (lines 39 to 41) is found in the Tezpur grant after the passage *ubhayataṭa padena* occurring in lines 41 to 44 of this grant.

⁵² The अनुस्वार is not given in the original.

43. क्षितमाडसोज्झितानां कस्तूरिकामृगाणां मदगन्धेनामोदितसकलतीरोपकण्ठनिवासिजन-
 44. पदेन मज्जनोत्तोयविलासिनीकुचकलशतटाश्लिष्टमदपङ्कनाविलसुगन्ध्यम्भसा । वेश्याङ्गना-
 45. भिरिव नानाभरणशोभितप्रकटावयवाभिः । वालकुमारिकाभिरिव कण्ठकिङ्किणी-
 मालाधा-
 46. रिणीभिः । कण्ठांटीभिरिव कठिनाभिघातसम्बद्धि(त)वेगाभिः । वारस्त्रीभिरिव-
 चामरधारिणीभिः⁵³

Third Plate : Inner Side

47. श्रीहृदपेश्वरात् स परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारको
 महाराजाधिराज-
 48. श्रीवर्णमालवर्मदेवः कुशलो ॥ उत्तरकूले स्वल्पमङ्गोकमण्डलप्रतिवद्धं पूर्वं आक्षि-
 दाहिका । दक्षिणपू-
 49. र्वं चण्डिकापुष्करि⁵⁴ । दक्षिणे दीर्घाङ्ग(ः) । दक्षिणपश्चिमे वटवृक्ष(ः) ।
 पश्चिमे वैष्णवितप(ः) । पश्चिमोत्तरे शा-
 50. ल्मली । उत्तरे वृहदाली । उत्तर(र)पूर्वे धवलपुष्करिणी⁵⁵ । एवमष्टसीमा-
 पर्यन्तमचाटभटप्रवेशं ह-
 51. पोसग्रामं मुक्तोपरिकरं कृत्वा । ॐ । त्यागी सत्यधनः परोपकृतिमान् साधुः सतां
 सम्मतः शास्त्रा-
 52. र्थामृतवृत्तधीः कलियुगे त्रय्याः स एको गृहः⁵⁶ । वेदाभ्यासरतश्च सामचरणः
 शाण्डिल्यगोत्रो महा-
 53. न् भट्टो जेजटः^{56a} इत्यभूत् गुणनिधिः सम्मानितो राजभिः ॥२६॥ तस्यैते
 गुणशालिनो नि-
 54. जकुलप्रद्योतदक्षक्रिया जाताः सत्त्वहितैकदत्तमनसश्चूडामणिर्देतोभा गगर्गश्च

⁵³ The passage दशवदनान्तःपुरिकाभिरिव up to सनाथः found in the Tezpur grant as following this line 46 is dropped from the present grant probably through scribal inadvertence.

⁵⁴ पुष्करिणी was intended.

⁵⁵ पुष्करिणी is a Prakritism peculiar to Kāmarūpa inscriptions.

⁵⁶ The original wrongly reads त्रयाः स एक गृहो. This is not completed in the original with a *danḍa*. The *sandhi* in *grho* is also not desirable.

^{56a} Avoidance of *sandhi* here leads to a metrical flaw. Note also the avoidance of *sandhi* in *abhūt guṇanidhiḥ*.

55. ततोप्युदारचरिता शम्भु⁵⁷समेताः सताः । नो भिन्नाश्च परस्परं विनयिनो धर्म-
क्षयाशङ्क-
56. या ॥२७॥ तत्राग्रजाय प्रददौ द्विजाय ग्रामं हि चूडामणये प्रशस्यः⁵⁸ । हपोसना-
मानभि-
57. ह प्रयत्नात् पुण्येहनि प्रीतिमना नरेन्द्रः ॥२८॥ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृ
58. द्भ्ये अतः सर्वैरनुमन्तव्यमिति । बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः (:) ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः
59. तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥२९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत्^{58a} वसुधराम् ।
स विद्यायां किमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥३०॥

TRANSLATION

Let there be success.

Let there be welfare to all. (line 1).

Let you be protected by the (sea-like) river Lauhitya, *which* wets the host of the riders of celestial cars with its showers which rise from its striking against the multitude of large gold rocks of the illustrious Mount Kailāśa and which are mixed up with golden mud and are as cold as ice and *whose* water is reddened by the flowers of the trees (in the garden) of the king of heaven, fallen from the embellished braids of the superior damsels of the heaven engaged in water-sport. (v. 1)

Let you be purified by the Holder of the Pināka (i.e., Śiva) at whose dance the waters of the (celestial) Ganges, being scattered by the *recaka-vāyu* (i.e., the exhaling breath) look like the multitude of stars. (v. 2)

There was a son of Ādivarāha (i.e., Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation) from Bhū (i.e., the Earth) named Naraka, born in time of rescuing her (i.e., the Earth, from the universal deluge), who in time of stealing away the *kuṇḍalas* (i.e., ear-rings) of Aditi stole away the valour of Hari (i.e., Indra, Aditi's son) as well. (v. 3)

Kriṣṇa killed him (i.e., Naraka); but his heart being moved by the sad wailings of his (Naraka's) wife spared his two sons Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. (v. 4).

When Bhagadatta gained the lordship of the prosperous Prāgjyotiṣa,

⁵⁷ This verse is miserably full of mistakes. *Ep. Ind.* reading gives the emendation as उदारचरितः शम्भु [:] समेताः. This emendation improves on the construction of the sentence and also the meaning. But the *visarga* after *śambhu* causes a metrical flaw. There is already a metrical flaw in *gargaśca*.

⁵⁸ I have preferred to read *praśasyaḥ* (in place of *praśāsyah*) to go with *narendrah*. This is suggested as the third alternative by the *Ep. Ind. edition*.

^{58a} Original *hareṭ*.

the other (i.e., Vajradatta) came to the forest and propitiated Īśvara (i.e., Śiva) with his penance. (v. 5).

He (i.e., Śiva), who was thus (propitiated and became) pleased (with Vajradatta) granted him the lordship of Uparipattana, and granted also that in course of time his descendants would gain the lordship also of Prāgjyotiṣa. (v. 6).

In his family was born a king of Prāgjyotiṣa, with the majestic name Sālabha, who destroyed the warriors of the enemy side and whose foot-stool used to shine with the lustre of the jewels in the heads (i.e. crests) of the kings. (v. 7).

Now there became a king named Arathi,⁵⁹ unparalleled in valour and magnanimity, who proved a warrior for many an enemy and who was the brother of the king (i.e., Sālabha), who was rich with the line of kings (i.e., with the lineage of his predecessors) beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Śrīharṣa, who have coloured (i.e., brightened) all the quarters up to their boundaries with their own *rāga* (i.e., colour or love) for the whole host of the good qualities of the good kings of the past. (vv. 8-9).

His queen named Jivadevī was gratifying to his heart. She was adorable to many people and she was the source of great splendour like the morning twilight, which is the source of strong light. (v. 10).

That king had a son born to her (i.e., to Jivadevī). He (i.e., the son) was the greatest of kings, Śrīharjara, whose two feet used to be adored by the rays issuing from the heads of the kings and who was embraced by Śrī (i.e., the goddess of fortune) out of her own accord. (v. 11).

He was (identical with) Yudhiṣṭhira in religious discourses, and (with) Bhīma to the host of enemies, and (with) Jīṣṇu (i.e., Arjuna) in the battlefield. Thus, even being one, he gained identity with all the sons of Kunti by virtue of several good qualities as stated above. (v. 12).

Lakṣmī (the goddess of fortune), having left, like a jealous woman, the breast of Viṣṇu, whose mind is enamoured with the milk-maids (*gopī-jana*), (and) having assumed the beauty of one and all the women, has come here to become the heart-gratifying chief queen of that king (i.e., Harjara), with the name Śrīmaṅgalā, the best of best among the women, thinking thus : "This person (i.e., Harjara) bears all the qualities, beginning with the complexion, of my husband Rathāṅgapāṇi (i.e., Viṣṇu), who is matchless in valour. Hence by being the chief queen of this ruler of the world I do not become the object of disrespect in the world". (vv. 13-15).

This king, the stool for whose lotus-feet used to have friction with the crowns of all the kings, got a son in that queen, who became the king named Vanamāla, who was as beautiful as the moon, famous in

⁵⁹ P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar give "the (very) fire to numerous enemies" as the epithet of Arathi. But we find nothing as equivalent of it in the original.

the world, and embellished with a garland of large jewels in the form of royal qualities, (v. 16).

(and) whose name was made Vanamāla, by the Creator on the ground that he was found fit to assume the lordship of the whole earth extending up to the rows of forests lying on the sea-shore, (v. 17).

(and) who in the battle fields behaved like the sun by dispersing the huge mass of darkness in the form of the hosts of the intoxicated elephants of the enemy, (v. 18)

(and) who by dispelling the mass of darkness in the form of the enemies has behaved like a distinct (i.e. bright) moon in the sky in the form of the line of kings belonging to the royal family of the son of the Earth (i.e. Naraka), (v. 19)

(and) who having destroyed, with his sword in the form of his valour, the whole host of enemies, who are themselves like thunderbolts to the mountains in the form of the armies of their own largely intoxicated enemies, has compelled the goddess of fortune to remain devoted to only one husband (i.e. to himself) for a long time, (v. 20)

(and) out of fear for whose valour, some of even such kings who could defeat many (of their own) enemies hurriedly fled in different directions, while others took up the chowries (as his attendants), (v. 21)

(and) out of great fear for whom, the other kings who used to shoot sharp arrows in the battle-field, themselves had to leave their own territories far behind, (v. 22)

(and) to whom, the possessor of valour as the only weapon, the same kings, who against (their own) enemies arranged the huge crowds of intoxicated elephants, were making (salute with) folded palms (v. 23)

(and) who was the king that shouldered the burden of Nahuṣa by rebuilding out of devotion the white temple of Hetuka-śulin (i.e., Śiva), whose feet are worshipped by the host of all the best gods bowing down with reverence, (the temple) that had become dilapidated owing to the passage of time, (and) was as high as a peak of the Himalayas and was endowed with matchless villages, elephants and prostitutes (who were attached to the temple as devadāsīs), (v. 24)

(and) whose exceedingly white fame excels the lusture of the jewels of Ananta in the world of snakes and the row of water particles raised by the breaths of the quarter-elephants in (different) directions.⁶⁰ (v. 25)

(This charter is being issued) from the illustrious (city of) Haḍapeśvara, which is inhabited by fully contented people of all the Varnas and all the Āśramas; which is the home of innumerable good soldiers, virtuous men and learned men; the royal roads of which (city)

⁶⁰ The translation of the available portion of the verse is made in the light of the whole verse given in the Tezpur grant of Vanamālavarman.

are crowded by the great kings, seated in beautiful elephants, horses and palanquins, engaged in the act of coming and going back for the purpose of serving (or saluting) the lord of the earth (i.e., Vanamāla); which has whole of it completely filled up by the armies consisting of innumerable elephants, horses and foot soldiers, (and which is situated on the bank of the river⁶¹ Lauhity—)

which has its water perfumed by the pollens of all the flowers which have fallen down from the numerous creepers shaken by the wind of the hissing sound of the host of serpents which are frightened by cackling of the intoxicated peacocks resting in the clusters of tall trees rising from the hills belonging to its either banks; which flows with the fragrant flood-waters showered by the clouds arising from the smoke of the black sandal trees which burn in the forest-fires occurring in the pleasure-gardens (adjoining the) same (city of Haḍapeśvara);

which has its current in full with such a (rush of) water, which is purer on account of constantly washing the slopes of the Mount Kāmakuṭa, the top of which is the abode of the glorious (Lord) Kāmeśvara and the (goddess) Mahāgaurī-bhaṭṭārikā, whose foot-stools are illumined by the series of rays issuing out of the crest-jewels of all the gods and demons;

which is characterised by the people living in the whole neighbourhood of its banks delighted by the fragrance of the musks of the musk-deer, that graze in the shoots of the *durvā* grass belonging to the bowers on the hills standing on its two banks, some of the musk-deer having died by themselves, herds of others having been killed by tigers and elsewhere some others having been left out with their half devoured up flesh by groups of wolves, which killed them;

which has its water scented and addled with the mud in form of the paste of musks applied to the sides of the pitchers in the form of the breasts of the playful girls, which (i.e., the breasts) float up on the surface of water in course of taking a deep (for water-sport),

(and which has the areas⁶¹ adjoining both its banks adorned with boats).⁶²

which have their parts (*avayava*) decorated with varieties of embellishments exposed like the limbs (*avayava*) of the (body of the) prostitutes which are adorned with many ornaments and remain exhibited (to the view of others); which are endowed with garlands of tinkling bells like small girls; the speed of which is enhanced by hard strokes like (the

⁶¹ *deśa*=area of the surface of water itself and not the *land* adjoining the banks.

⁶² The lines containing reference to the boats are left out in the Parbatīyā plates, through scribal error. Yet, this idea can be gathered in the light of the Tezpur grant and the description given in lines 44-46.

sexual urge of) the women of Karṇāṭa (enhanced by violent strokes) and which bear chowries like the prostitutes.⁶³ (lines 33-47).

From (the city of) Haḍapeśvara (this document is being issued by) that *parameśvara* (i.e. the great king) *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., the great master) Mahārājādhirāja (i.e., the king of kings), the illustrious Vanamāla-varmadeva, who is a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (i.e., 'Śiva), who meditates upon the feet of his parents (and), who enjoys good health. (lines 47-48).

(By this grant, the village called) Haposagrāma belonging to the Svalpamaṅgoka district of the Uttara-kūla (i.e., the Northern Division) is rendered free from visits of policemen and the armymen and also from (the obligation to pay) the taxes payable by temporary tenants as far as its eight boundaries, viz., Akṣidāhikā in the east, the tank of Caṇḍikā in the south-east, Dīrghāṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bamboo-bush in the west, a Śālmālī tree in the north-west, the high road (or the high embankment) in the north (and) the tank of Dhavala in the east. (lines 48-51).

There lived a great Bhaṭṭa (i.e., learned Brāhmaṇa), named Jejjaṭa, who was munificent, absolutely truthful, engaged in doing good to others, honest (and) respected by the good men, whose intellect became contented by drinking a nectar in the form of the meaning of *śāstras*, who was the sole repository of (knowledge of) the three vedas in the kali age, who was regularly engaged in the reading (i.e. recitation) of the vedas, who belonged to the *carāṇa* of the Sāmaveda and the *gotra* named Śaṇḍilya, who was a store of virtues and was respected by the kings. (v. 26).

He (i.e., Jejjaṭa) had (four) sons named, Cūḍāmaṇi, Deṭobhā, Garga as well as the large-hearted Śambhu—who were (all) endowed with virtues, who illumined their own family and were skilled in the performance of rituals, who applied their minds solely to the act of doing good to living beings, who were courteous to each other and remained united (i.e., in a joint family) out of fear for the loss of virtue. (v. 27)

The king of commendable nature has been pleased to donate the village named Haposa to the Brāhmin, who was the eldest (of the afore-said four brothers) with great care on an auspicious day. (v. 28)

(The gift has been made) for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and also of himself, and hence this (i.e., the act of donation) should be approved by all. (lines 57-58)

Many kings beginning with Sagara have donated earth (i.e., land) to others. Every one has enjoyed appropriate merit for the respective pieces of land donated. (v. 29)

Whoever takes away the land given by himself or by others, rots with manes assuming the form of worms in *viṣṭhā*. (v. 30)

⁶³ The description of the city of Haḍapeśvara ends here.

NOTES

For notes on portions common to the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla see under the said grant.

Line 48. *Uttarakūla* is translated here as the Northern Division. Literally the word means the north bank. P. N. Bhattacharyya takes it plainly to mean the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra (*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, p. 89). The word *uttarakūla* is mentioned also in other C. P. grants of Kāmarūpa. Cf. Ratnapāla's Bargāon plates, line 52; Indrapāla's Gauhati grant, line 35; and Indrapāla's Guwākuchi grant, line 34. The last mentioned grant also mentions the word *kūla* after the names of other rivers loosely in the sense of a bank as in Hāhāravijolottarakūle (on the northern bank of the river Hāhāravi), vide line 53 of the Guwākuchi grant. But in our opinion when the word *Uttarakūla* occurs without the name of the particular river, we should understand the river Brahmaputra. Similarly the word *dakṣiṇakūla* (as in Balavarman's Nowgong grant, line 33) should mean the southern side of the river Brahmaputra. In my opinion, the entire country was broadly divided into two divisions, viz. the Northern Division (*Uttarakūla*) covering the whole area lying to the North of the river Brahmaputra and the Southern Division (*Dakṣiṇakūla*) covering the whole area lying south of the Brahmaputra.

Line 51. *muktoparikaram*- adj. to *Haposagrāmam*. The word *uparikara* is taken here to mean 'taxes payable by temporary tenants'. A similar term occurs also in the Nowgong grant of Balavarman, line 38. Cf. *auparikarika* derived from the term *uparikara*, itself. Hoernle, referred to by P. N. Bhattacharyya in *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* (p. 86), understands the term *auparikarika* as a person that may cause troubles on account of the realising of tenants' taxes. We render the term *uparikara* as relating to a temporary tenant in the light of Hoernle's observation- "*Uparikara* is a fiscal term; the rent or tax (*kara*) paid by an *upari* or tenant who does not reside or has no occupancy rights in the land."⁶⁴ (See *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 86 and Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 66). The term *uparikara* occurs also in the grants of Ratnapāla, Indrapāla and Dharmapāla in the sense of a tax, which presents an occasion to the officers for oppressing the peasants. P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar translate the term *muktoparikaram* as "unendowed with (*the right to*

⁶⁴ Notes on the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. (1897).

enjoy) the tax on temporary tenants". (*Ep. Ind.* vol. xxix. No. 20. p. 159). They also find reasons to presume that "Haposagrāma was not made a rent-free holding and may have actually been sold. . . ." (*Ibid.* p. 148). But in my opinion, v. 28 of the present grant tends to show more convincingly that it was a free gift, and the term *muktoparikaram*, in the light of the reference to 'uparikara along with a reference to 'harassment of different nature' (*nānānimittotkhetana*) in the grants of Ratnapāla, Indrapāla and Dharmapāla tend to show that the land was also made (totally) rent-free. According to P. C. Choudhury *uparikara* "means an extra revenue derived from all classes of cultivators, both permanent and temporary." (For this and other interpretations given by other scholars see P. C. Choudhury, *HCPA*, p. 274 f).

Verse 26. This verse is not common to the Tezpur grant. The name Jejjāṭa, being similar to the names of Mammāṭa, Allāṭa, Kallāṭa, Bhijjāṭa and other such celebrated Kashmirians, tends to suggest that the present Brāhmaṇa also hailed from Kashmir, but used to live in Kāmarūpa.

Reference to Sāma-carāṇa indicates that in Ancient Assam there was the tradition of Sāmaveda studies.

Verse 27 The fact that the four brothers lived together in a joint family is of great socio-economic significance. (For a very informative discussion see *Ep. Ind.* vol. xxix). It is suggested that according to early writers on law like Gautama (28-4) and Manu (9-111) partition of the brothers is desirable because it tends to increase *dharma*. This is maintained so, possibly because partition gives them scope for manifold performance of the same religious ceremony which is performed only singly in a joint family. The author of our inscription does not subscribe to this view. According to him *dharma* is lost when there is partition. Our author possibly believes that smaller families find it difficult to perform major religious ceremonies; whereas for an unpartitioned joint family it is more convenient and economically more feasible to perform the big ceremonies.

**No. 11. THE UTTARBARBIL COPPER PLATES OF
BALAVARMAN III**

(The last quarter of the ninth century A.D.)

References : P. C. Choudhury, *the Assam Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā*, Vol. XV, No. 3. pp. 187-194; Rājmoḥan Nath, *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 84-88.

Place &
History :

A set of three copper plates was discovered by a cultivator at the *Uttarbarbil* village of the Howraghat area of the present Mikir Hills district and these plates came to the hands of Shri Prakash Chandra Acharya, in about the year 1953. Sri Acharya used to worship the elephant of the royal seal attached to the plates with the impression that the same was the image of god Gaṇeśha. Then the plates came to the hands of Shri M. M. Chakravarty, an officer of the Government of Assam, who handed over the bundle to Shri G. C. Phukan, the then Deputy Commissioner of the then district of North Cachar and Mikir Hills. Finally the plates found their way to the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam, Gauhati, through the favour of Shri Phukan and Late Rup Nath Brahma, then a Cabinet Minister of Assam. Now these plates are preserved in the DHAS, Assam, Gauhati since 1956.

Description : The three plates are held together by a metal ring attached to a ladle-shaped seal, measuring about 6" × 3", containing the figure of an elephant. The seal is of almost the same description as that of other Kāmarūpa kings. It also contains the following words in three lines lying below the figure of the elephant : *svasti śrīmānpṛāgiyotiśādhipānvayo mahārājādhirāja śrībalavarmadevaḥ*. Each of the plates measure 10" × 6½". The first and the third plates have inscription in their inner side while the middle plate has inscription on both the sides. The first three inscribed pages contain 14 lines each and the last page contains 12 lines.

Language &
the text :

The language is chaste Sanskrit written in perfect literary style often betraying impressions of the style and expres-

sion of Kālidāsa. There are altogether 30 verses giving the description of the king and the donee and a proportionately smaller prose portion, giving the description of the donated land. There are a number of minor scribal errors, the only glaring mistake being the repetition of the second verse. The text of the plates is almost fully preserved. There is also the advantage of reconstructing the text in the light of the Nowgong grant of the same king, which is almost identical.

Script &
orthography :

The script is similar to that of the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālavarman, discussed earlier. The letter **ন** is similar to that in the modern Assamese/Bengali script. (vide line 2, plate Ib). There is no distinction between **ব** and **ব** in this inscription also. For the first time we find in this inscription a sign for an elided **অ** (i.e. **অবগ্রহ**) (See line 11, plate Ib). There are two forms of the **অনুস্বার**. While generally it is represented with the dot above the preceding letter, in certain places (as in lines 2, 3 and 6 of plate Ib) it is almost similar to the **অনুস্বার** of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

The notable orthographical features are as follows :
(i) A consonant is often reduplicated after a *repha*. But see line 47, 48 etc. to find that there is no consistency in this matter. (ii) Very often *n* is substituted for an *anusvāra*. See lines 28, 29, 49, etc. (iii) A final *ansvāra* is invariably retained as it is. See vv. 22, 25, etc.

General
remarks :

The Nowgong copper plates of Balavarman have been brought to light as early as in the ninties of the nineteenth century. The charter contained in these plates had been granted in the 8th year of the rule of Balavarman, while the charter of the Uttarbarbil plates in the 5th year of the rule. The first 25 verses of both the grants are identical. Then another five lines in prose, which describe the king and his station, are identical. This is followed by a short reference to the location and magnitude of the two different plots of land donated, obviously with different expressions covering scarcely a word or two more than a single line. Then follows a *typical stricture describing the privileges attached to the donated land*,⁶⁵ in some four or five lines, almost identical in expression.

⁶⁵ See 'Notes' below for further observations on this 'stricture'.

After this formal part, there are five more verses in the Uttarbarbil plates for describing the donee and the occasion of the gift followed by the boundary of the land while in the Nowgong plates there are seven more verses devoted to the description of the donee and the occasion of the gift followed by the boundary of the land. Thus there is some distinction between the two grants only in respect of the description of the donees and the boundaries of the lands. It is enough to show that the two grants were composed by the same author.

Metres : VV. 1-4, 8-10, 13, 14, 17, 19-25, 30, Āryā ; VV. 5, 6, 12, 15, Upajāti (of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā) ; V. 7, Upajāti (of Vasantatilakā and Indravajrā) ; V. 11, Puṣpitaḡrā ; VV. 16, 18, Anuṣṭubh ; VV. 26-29, Vamśa-sṭhavila.

TEXT

First Plate : Inside

1. ६६६ स्वस्ति । भवतु भवतिमिरभिदुरं तेजो रौद्रं प्रशान्तये जगतः परिवर्त्तते
समग्रं (क) ल्पान्तनि-
2. शावसाने यत् ॥१॥ छरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलं ।
कैलासकटकमृगमद-
3. वासितमपहरतु दुरितम्बः ॥२॥ छरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्य-वारिधेरमलं ।
कैलासक-
4. टकमृगमदवासितमपहरतु दुरितम्बः ॥२॥^{६७} प्रलयपथोद्यौ मन्नामुद्धरतो
वसमतीमुपेन्द्रस्य ।
5. नरक इति सूनुरासीदछरसहचकोढरुपभृतः ॥३॥ त्रैलोक्यविजयतुंगं-
6. येनापहृतं यशो महेन्द्रस्य । अदितेः कुण्डलयुगलं कपो(लदो) लायितं^{६८}
हरता ॥४॥ ता-
7. म्बुलवह्नीपरिणद्धपूगं कृष्णागुरुस्कन्धनिवेशितैलं । स कामरूपे जितकाम-

^{६६} This mystic *āṇḍī* symbol may be read aloud as *siddham*.

^{६७} In the original text the verses are not numbered. We have repeated the second verse, for keeping the continuity of the original lines, with the same No. (i.e., 2,) after it.

^{६८} The original reading is *kapolāyitam*. We have inserted the present reading from the Nowgong plates in the light of the reading given by P. N. Bhattacharyya, for the sake of metre.

8. रूपः प्रागज्योतिषा⁶⁹ख्यं पुरमध्युवास ॥५॥ मदान्धगन्धद्विप-कर्णतालभृत्यन्म-
9. यूरोपवने स तस्मिं । वसन् समासाद्य मुरारिचक्रं रणे रणैषी दिवमा-
10. रुरोह ॥६॥ भूपालमौलिमणितुम्बितपादपीठस्तस्यात्मजोभूद् भगदत्तनामा । राजा
प्रजारजनल-
11. वधवर्णो वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरुरेकवीरः ॥७॥ उपगतवति सुरलोकन्तस्मिन्तस्याऽनु-
जोभवद्भूमेः । पतिर-
12. मलभक्तिरीशे यं प्राहुर्वज्रदत्त इति कवयः ॥८॥ तद्वंशे वनवप्रां परिखीकृतसागरां
महीं भुक्ता । अस्त-
13. हृगतेषु राजसु शालस्तम्भोभव(न्)नृपति(:) ॥९॥ पालक-विजय-⁷⁰प्रभृतिषु⁷¹
समतिक्रान्तेषु तस्य वंश्ये-
14. पु । अभवद् भुवि नृपचन्द्रो द्विषज्ज्वरो हज्जरो नाम ॥ अहमहमिकया
विवन्दिषूणां संसदि यस्य नख⁷²-

Second Plate : Obverse

15. प्रभाप्रतानैः । न मुकुटमणयो विभान्ति राज्ञां रविकरसम्बलिता इव प्रदीपाः ॥ ११ ॥
तस्यात्मजः श्रीव-
16. नमालदेवो राजा चिर⁷³भक्तिपरो भवेभूत् । विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः पिनद्धकण्ठः
परिघाभ-
17. बाहु(:) ॥१२॥ न क्रुद्धं विकृतास्यं न च न हसितं⁷⁴ न च वचः श्रुतं
नीचात् । न च किञ्चिदुक्तमहितम्महितं⁷⁵शी-
18. लं सदैव यस्याभूत् ॥१३॥ येनावुलापि सतुला जगति विशालापि भूरिकृतशाला
पङ्क्तिः⁷⁶ प्रासादाना-

⁶⁹ The original reads *prāggyotiśākyam*.

⁷⁰ The original reads *विजयः*.

⁷¹ The original reads *प्रभृतिषु*.

⁷² In the Nowgong plates the words *संसदि यस्य नख* are not clear. P. N. Bhattacharyya suggests *yadarūṇapadanakha* for the indistinct portion. But in the Uttarbarbil plates these words are quite clear.

⁷³ The word *ciram* is missing in the text given by P. C. Choudhury.

⁷⁴ The words *na ca na hasitam* are not found in the text of the Nowgong plates, given by P. N. Bhattacharyya. But it is pointed out by him at p. 82 of the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali* (f.n. No. 4) that the words *na ca hasitam* are left out in the text through printing mistake. The second *na*, very clearly given in the Uttarbarbil plates may be taken to be redundant, on metrical grounds.

⁷⁵ The original reads *महितं*. But in the light of the Nowgong plates it may be read as *म्महितं* for the sake of metre also.

⁷⁶ The word *paṅktiḥ* is missing in the text given by P. C. Choudhury.

19. मकृतविचित्रापि सचित्रा ॥१४॥ तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयमालदेव(ः) क्षीराम्बुराशेरिव
शीतरश्मिः वभूव य-
20. स्यास्खलितं भ्रमन्ति यशांसि कुन्देन्दुसमप्रभाणि ॥१५॥ स श्रीमान् वनमालोपि राजा
21. राजीवलोचन(ः) । अवेक्ष्य विनयोपेतं तनूजं प्राप्तयौवनं ॥१६॥ च्छत्रं शशधर-
22. घवलं चामरयुगलान्वितं प्रदायारुमै । अनशनविधिना वीरस्तेजसि मा-
23. हेश्वरे लीन(ः) ॥१७॥ प्राप्तराज्येन तेनोढा राज्ञा श्रीवीरवाहुना । कुलेन कान्त्या वय-
24. सा भम्बानामात्मनस्समा ॥१८॥ तेनोदपादि तस्यामरणाविव पावक(ः)
प्रयोगविदा । बलवन्मेति प्र-
25. धितः श्रीमत्तनयः समग्रगुणयुक्तः ॥१९॥ असितसरोरुहचलदलनिभनयन(ः) पीन-
कन्धरः सुभु-
26. जः । अभिनवदिनकरकरहतविदलितनवनलिनकान्तिसच्छाय(ः) ॥२०॥ गच्छति
तिथिमति का-
27. ले स कदाचित् कर्मणां वि(पा)कवशात् । राजा रुजाभिभूतो लङ्घितभिषजा
रणस्तम्भः ॥२१॥ निःसारं संसा-
28. रं जललवलोलज्ज्व जीवितं पुन्साम् । विगणय्य वीरवाहुः कर्तव्यमचिन्तयच्छेषं ॥२२॥
अथ पुण्येहनि-

Second Plate : Reverse

29. नृपतिस्तनयन्तमुदग्रविग्रहं विधिवत् । केसरि⁷⁷ किशोरसदृशं सिंघासन⁷⁸ मौलिता-
मनयत् ॥२३॥
30. तदनन्तरमधिगम्य प्राज्यं तद्राज्यमाज्यमिव वह्निः । बलवन्मोपि दिदीपे प्रोच्छा^{78a}
रित-सकलरिपुतिमि-
31. रः ॥२४॥ अभवजयकरिकुम्भस्खलितोर्म्मैरमलवारिधेस्तस्य । लौहित्यस्य समीपे
तदेव पैता-
32. महं कटकं ॥२५॥ तत्र श्रीमति हृदप्पेश्वरनामनि⁷⁹ कटके कृतवसतिरुत्खातासिल-
तामरीचिनि-
33. चयमेचकितेन वाहुना विजितसकलदिक्कवालो धीरः प्रधने भीरयशसि तीक्ष्णो रि-
34. पुष्टु मृदुतरो गुरुषु । सत्यवागविसम्वादी कृत्वाविकत्थन(ः) स्थूललक्षो ।

⁷⁷ Both केसरि and केशरि are correct.

⁷⁸ सिंघासन seems to be a Prakritism for सिंहासन.

^{78a} Read *proccā*.

⁷⁹ P. C. Choudhury reads *harapośvara*. We prefer to read *hadappeśvara* for reasons given in the notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjara.

35. मातापितृ(पा)दानुध्यानधौतकल्मषः⁸⁰ । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको म-
 36. हाराजाधिराजः श्रीवलवर्मदेवः कुशली ॥३३॥ वारासेपत्तन-
 37. विषयान्तःपाति-वप्पदेव-पाटकादपकृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ-
 38. यथायथं समुपस्थितब्राह्मणादिविषयकरणव्यवहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् । राजरा-
 39. ज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि राजानकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् । यथाकाल-
 40. भाविनोपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं समादिशति⁸¹ विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वा-
 41. स्तु केदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावकराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसीमोद्देशप-
 42. र्यन्ता⁸² हस्तिवन्धनौकावन्धचौरौद्धरण-दण्डपाशोपरिकरनानानिमित्तोत्खेटन-

Third Plate : Inside

43. हस्त्यश्वोष्णगोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनिवारितसर्वपीडाशासनीकृत्य ॥
 44. अभूदशेषश्रुतिशास्त्रविन्मलैः कृती द्विजेन्द्रो भृशमौपमन्यवः । भवाप काण्वो यजु-
 45. षां निवासभूस्तरालयं यः खलु गर्गसंज्ञकः ॥२६॥ ऋचोनुसामानि यजुह्वि तस्य
 यः पपा-
 46. ठ सूक्तानि सकर्मपद्धतीः । विवेद शास्त्राणि कृताध्वरस्तुतो गभिष्ठिरो नाम वभूव ध-
 47. र्मजः ॥२७॥ कुलोद्भवा सोमलतेव पावनी वशिष्ठभार्येव पतिव्रता हि या । शचीव गर्भे-
 48. श्वरिका शतक्रतोः प्रियाभवत्तस्य धरेव धैर्यतः ॥२८॥ अवासपुण्यः शु-
 49. तिशास्त्रपारगः प्रियम्बदः प्रासयशा वसुप्रदः । द्विताय ताम्यान्जनितो द्विज-
 50. न्मनां हि श्यामदेवस्तनुजो महातपाः ॥२९॥ पित्रोः पुण्यायास्मै भद्राय त-
 51. थात्मनोवदपूजायां शक्रोत्थाने विधिना भृशं दत्ता पञ्चमवर्षे मया रा-
 52. ज्ये ॥३०॥ (अस्या)स्सीमा⁸³ । पूर्व्वेण वैकङ्कस्तूपः । पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन शालमलीवृक्षः ।
 दक्षिणेन त्रिपत्रकवृक्षः ।
 53. दक्षिणपश्चिमेन कदम्बवृक्षः । पश्चिमेन क्षेत्रालिस्थितसवृक्षः । पश्चिमोत्तरेण विटि-
 54. स्तूपस्थाश्वत्थवृक्षः । उत्तरेण जम्बुवृक्षः । उत्तरपूर्व्वेण सुवर्णदाखवृक्षश्चेति ॥३१॥

⁸⁰ The original reads कल्मषः.

⁸¹ In the Nowgong plates we have two more words *ca iti* after *samādiśati* of the corresponding text.

⁸² After this we have reference to some more official positions in the corresponding text of the Nowgong plates. Hence, this portion concerning the officials and subordinates is given in full also in the text of the Nowgong plates though essentially the texts are almost similar in both the charters.

⁸³ The original reads स्सीमा. The reduplication of स shows that the reading should be अस्यास्सीमा.

TRANSLATION

Let there be success.

Let there be welfare to all (line 1).

Let the lustre of lord Rudra, capable of dispelling the darkness of the world (i.e., of the period of birth and rebirth) be the cause of peace of the world, since the whole (situation) changes at the end of the night of universal destruction. (v. 1).

Let your sins be dispelled by the pure waters, of the sea-like (river) Lauhitya, which are rendered fragrant by the musks of the musk deer that roam about the slopes of the Kailāśa mountain, and are dotted with small moon-like spots by the drops of the ichor of the celestial elephants. (v. 2).

Upendra (i.e., Viṣṇu), who assumed the form of a boar (in his boar incarnation) and rescued the Earth, plunged in the waters of the universal deluge, had a son named Naraka, who was a friend of the *asuras*. (v. 3).

He stole away the pair of ear-ornaments, dangling about the cheeks of Aditi (i.e., the mother of the gods) and thereby stole away the high fame of Mahendra (i.e., the great Indra), which accrued out of his conquering the three worlds (v. 4).

That (king Naraka), who surpassed (even) Kāma (i.e., the Cupid) in beauty (or, who had already conquered the Kāmarūpa) used to live in a city named Prāgjyotiṣa in (the kingdom named) Kāmarūpa, where there were areca-nut trees, which used to be covered by encircling betel leaf creepers, and the trunks of the black sandal trees which used to be encircled by the cardamom trees. (v. 5).

Having resided in that place (i.e., in Prāgjyotiṣa), where, in the parks, the peacocks used to dance in consonance with the beating-time of the movement of the ears of the intoxicated elephants of the best variety, that king Naraka, ever eager to fight, became struck by the wheel of Viṣṇu and retired to the heaven. (v. 6)

His son was Bhagadatta by name, a king whose foot-stool used to be kissed by the crest-jewels of the (vassal) kings; he earned singular fame by being pleasant to the subjects; he regulated all castes and all *āśramas* (i.e., stages of life), and he was the hero without a parallel. (v. 7).

When he (i.e., Bhagadatta) retired to the abode of gods (i.e., heaven), his younger brother, a great devotee of Mahādeva (i.e., Śiva), became the king; the poets named him Vajradatta (v. 8).

When a number of (moon-like) kings of that family, having ruled over the earth, surrounded by ramparts in the form of forests, and by canals in the form of the seas, disappeared (i.e., ceased to be, through demise), Sālastambha became the king. (v. 9).

After the demise of several kings of his family like Pālaka and

Vijaya, there appeared on earth a moon amongst the kings, named Harjjara, a veritable menace to his enemies. (v. 10).

The crest-jewels of the kings, who were vying with each other with their desire to salute him, could not shine better on account of (being surpassed by) the series of rays issuing forth from the nails of his lotus-feet, like the lamps overwhelmed by the rays of the sun. (v. 11).

His son Śrī Vanamāladeva, a devotee of Śiva, was the king for a pretty long time; his chest was wide, the waist was thin and round, the shoulders were firm and the arms were like (iron) beams. (v. 12).

There never occurred any deformity in his face; neither through anger nor through a laugh; his mouth never uttered an ugly word which is generally heard from the ordinary people; it never spoke an unwholesome word; his character was always highly adorable. (v. 13).

With him (as the resident) the row of palaces became *atulā* (i.e., matchless) even while remaining *satulā* (i.e., containing sloping beams); became *viśālā* (i.e., large) even while being *bhūrikṛtāśālā* (i.e., consisting of many rooms); became *akṛtavicitrā* (i.e., devoid of non-uniformity in colour) while remaining *saccitra* (i.e., while containing pictures within). (v. 14).

Like the moon arising from the ocean of milk, from him was born his son Śrī Jayamāladeva, whose fame, as radiant as the jasmine and the moon, travelled along (i.e., spread) without any stumbling. (v. 15).

That valorous illustrious lotus-eyed king Vanamāla also observing his son to have attained youth and to be endowed with modesty handed over to him the (royal) umbrella, as white as the moon, along with the pair of chowries and became merged in the (heavenly) glow of Maheśvara (i.e., retired to heaven) through the process of fasting. (vv. 16-17).

After assuming the kingship, that king (Jayamāla who became known as) the illustrious Vīrabāhu married a lady named Ambā who was similar (i.e. suitable) to himself in respect of lineage, beauty and age. (v. 18).

Like fire produced from the *araṇi* (i.e., the fire-producing wood) that king, skilled in application (of the theoretical knowledges), also got from her an illustrious son named Balavarmā, endowed with all the good qualities. (v. 19).

His eyes were like the petals of the blue lotus, shoulders were firm, arms were stout and his (total) beauty was like the lusture of the lotus, blossoming newly, being struck by the rays of the early morning sun. (v. 20).

After a good length of time, that king (i.e., Vīrabāhu) who was like a pillar of the battlefield became overwhelmed by a disease, which was beyond the control of the physicians, through the maturity of his actions. (v. 21).

Finding the world to be hollow and the life of the human beings to be as fickle as a drop of water, Vīrabāhu thought of (performing) his last duties. (v. 22).

Then on an auspicious date the king (i.e. *Vīrabāhu*) placed on the throne his son, who was similar to a lion-cub with his robust figure. (v. 23).

After receiving (the kingship of) that large kingdom, Balavarman also began to shine, like a fire that has received a pour of *ghee*, having dispelled the darkness in the form of all his enemies. (v. 24).

There stood the same ancestral capital on the bank of river Lauhitya of pure waters, wherein the waves used to strike against the foreheads of the victorious elephants. (v. 25).

That *parameśvara* (i.e., the great king), *paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., the great master), *mahārājādhirāja* (i.e., the king of kings), the illustrious Balavarmadeva, who has conquered the entire horizon with his arms, that have been coloured by the rays issuing out of his open sword, who is steady in the battle fields, afraid of disreputation, fierce to the enemies, mild enough to the superiors, truthful and not crafty, not used to boasting after the performance of a work, munificent and free from all sins through the worship of the feet of the parents, resides in that illustrious city of Haḍappeśvara and is in good health. (lines, 32-36).

With due respect, the king issues an order to all the citizens beginning with the brāhmaṇas, the scribes and the administrators duly present in the plot of land, capable of yielding two thousand units of paddy, sliced off from the Vappadeva *pātaka*, belonging to the Vārāsepattana *viśaya*, and also to the others like *rājānaka*, *rājaputra* and *rājavallabha*, etc. associated with the *rājā* and the *rājñī* and the *rāṇaka*, and also to all who will happen to be there in course of time, as follows..... (lines 36-40).

(The order)

Let it be known to you that this plot of land, consisting of homestead land, paddy fields, ponds and mounds, standing as it is up to the boundaries of its own (as defined below) is rendered free from all troubles on account of the fastening of elephants, searching of thieves, inflicting of punishment, tenants' taxes, duties due to different causes and grazing of the animals such as elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep, as recorded in this charter. (lines 40-43).

Once there was a superior brāhmaṇa of the Upamanyu gotra, named Garga, who was a master of the entire Vedic lore, reputed through the performance of several sacrifices, a follower of the Kāṇva school of Vedas, and the very repository of the Yajurveda; he (in due course of time) reached the heaven. (v. 26).

He had a lawful son named Gabhiṣṭhira, who learnt the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda* along with their application, mastered all the *śāstras* and performed sacrifices. (v. 27).

He (i.e., Gabhiṣṭhira) had a wife, belonging to a good family, who was pure like the Soma-creeper, devoted to the husband like the wife of

Vaśiṣṭha, mother of a great progeny like Śacī, the beloved of Indra and was like the earth in respect of patience. (v. 28).

From them (i.e., Gabhiṣṭhira and his wife) was born, for the welfare of the brāhmaṇas, a son named Śyāmadeva, who was meritorious, a scholar of the Vedic lores, sweet in conversation, widely reputed, giver of wealth and a great performer of penances. (v. 29).

For the merit of my parents and for my own welfare I verily make over the (aforesaid) land to that Bhaṭṭa (i.e. the aforesaid brāhmaṇa scholar) in full conformity to rules, in the fifth year of my reign on the day of the annual celebration of Śakrotthāna. (v. 30).

Its boundaries are as follows :

to the east a bush of *vaikaṅka* trees, to the south-east a silk-cotton tree, to the south a *palāśa* tree, to the south-west a *kadamba* tree, to the west a cane tree (bush) lying on the path laid down for demarcation of fields, to the north-west a banyan tree standing in the bush of *viṭi*-trees (?), to the north a black berry tree, and to the north-east a *sonāru* (*suvarṇa-dāru*) tree (lines 52-54).

NOTES

- V. 2. In the plates of Vanamāla, Ratnapāla and Indrpāla also homage is paid to the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. It appears to be because of the proximity of the capitals of the respective kings to the river Brahmaputra and because of a benefit which must have been derived from the river in strategic, martial, commercial and cultural matters.

Haḍappeśvara, the capital of Vanamāla is identified to be the modern town of Tezpur, which stands conspicuously on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra. Ratnapāla's capital Durjjayā, supposed to have stood on the site of the more ancient Prāgjyotiṣa or very near to it, also had proximity to the river Brahmaputra. But in the plates of Dharmapāla there is no reference to the river Brahmaputra. The Puṣpabhadra plates of Dharmapāla mention the name of the capital as Kāmarūpanagara. This city must have been different from the earlier capital cities and seems to have been at a considerable distance from the river Brahmaputra. (For the location of the various capital cities of ancient Assam see our notes under the Gachtal C. P. grant of Gopālavarman.)

- V. 4. For the Kuṇḍala-haraṇa legend cf. the Dubi C. P. grant of Bhāskaravarman, the grants of Vanamāla and the Gachtal C. P. grant of Gopāla, etc. and for the legendary sources see Introduction.

- V. 5. For a parallel idea as we have in the first half of the verse cf. *Raghuvamśa*, 6.64 (*tāmbūlavallīpariṇaddhapūgāsvelālatāliṅgitacandanāsu*). Since very early days *tāmbūla* plays a very important rôle in the cultural life of Assam. For details see Maheswar Neog's paper, 'The Role of Tāmbūla in Assam's Social Life' in *Prof. P. K. Gode Com. Vol.* pp. 270-82. It is also significant that the capital city of Pragjyotiṣa has derived its modern name Gauhati (As. *Guvāhātī*) from rows of *tāmbūla* tree. *Guvā* (=skt. *guvāka* = *tāmbūla*) + *hātī* (=rows). There is a pun in the word *jitakāmarūpa*, (adj. to *saḥ* i.e., Naraka). The word *jitakāmarūpa* means one who has surpassed Kāma (i.e., Cupid) in beauty (*rūpa*) and also one who has conquered the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. The Naraka legend is given at length by the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (ch. 36-40). According to this *Purāṇa*, Naraka came from Videha and captured the kingdom of Kāmarūpa from the Kirātas at the instance of god Nārāyaṇa.
- V. 7. Cf. *Raghuvamśa* 6.21 (*rājā prajārañjanalabdhavarnāḥ parantapo nāma yathārthanāmā*). The alliteration in *varṇo varṇāśramāṇām* is noteworthy. But this also seems to be on the model of *Raghuvamśa* 5.19 (*varṇāśramāṇām gurave sa varṇi vicakṣaṇaḥ prastutamācacakṣe*).
- V. 9. Cf. the first half with *Raghuvamśa*, 1-30.
- V. 10. In the Hāyunthal C. P. grant of Harjara also (in vv. 4 and 5) Pālaka and Vijaya are mentioned. But there Vijaya is mentioned as the predecessor of Pālaka.
- V. 12. Cf. *avantiṇāthoyamudagrabāhu viśālavakṣastanuvṛttamadyaḥ* (*Raghuvamśa*, 6.32).
- V. 14. There is a beautiful Virodhābhāsa Alamkāra in this verse. In the word *satulā*, *tulā* means 'a sloping beam or timber in the roof of a house'. (*Apte*). For the purpose of the Virodhābhāsa *atulā* apparently means 'without *tulā*' and *satulā* means 'with *tulā*', *viśālā* apparently means 'without *śālā*' (i.e., *vigatā śālā*). The opposite of *saccitra* (having pictures within) is *akṛtavicitra* (without having *vaicitrya* i.e., without disuniformity in colour; or, literally, 'not rendered *vicitra*' or a 'place having varieties of pictures'). The word *yena* also may be taken as the subject of the past participle forms *bhūrikṛta* and *akṛta*.
- V. 15. There is an Upamā Alamkāra in this verse. A poetical convention is involved in the fame being compared to the *kunda* (jesmin) flower and the moon. In such expressions *kunda* and *indu* (moon)

are often mentioned together for the alliteration in the conjunct consonant *nd*. Hence, we have—

*himacandanakundendukumudāmbhojasannibhā,
varṇādhidevī yā tasmai cākṣarāyai namo namaḥ*

(Sarasvatī stotra composed by Yājñavalkya, vide *Stavakavacamālā*, p. 758).

- V. 17. The royal umbrella and the chowries are often mentioned together in such contexts. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, 3.16.
- V. 18. For the portion *kulena kāntyā vayasā* cf. *Raghuvamśa* 6.79.
- V. 19. For the portion *araṇāviva pāvakaḥ* cf. V. 12. of the Nidhanpur C. P. of Bhāskaravarman.
- V. 23. This description of the son being placed on the throne by the king reminds us of Samudragupta being placed on the throne by his father. Cf. V. 4 in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.
- V. 25. *Paitāmahaṁ kaṭakam*—This refers to the capital city of Haḍappeśvara, which has been the capital city even in the days of Harjara, the grand grand father of Balavarman. The grand grand father is called *prapitāmaha* while the grand father is called *pitāmaha*. The word *paitāmaha* should be taken in a loose sense so as to mean any body of his ancestors separated by one generation or more. The Tezpur Rock Inscription and the Hāyungthal C. P. grant of Harjara are the oldest available inscriptions of the Śālastambha family and in these inscriptions we find the name of Haḍappeśvara (Haṭappeśvara) as the capital for the first time. But Haḍappeśvara (= Haṭappeśvara) might have been the capital city of the kings of the Śālastambha family even from the days of the earlier generations. See also our notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjara.
- Line 36. *Vārāsepattana*—is mentioned as a *viṣaya*. A *viṣaya* means a district. This district derived its name from the city (*pattana*) of Vārāse, which might have been the head-quarters of the entire *viṣaya*. Dr. P. C. Chaudhury conjectures Vārāsepattana to be identical with the Vāḍā *viṣaya* of Vaidyadeva's Kamauli grant. (*Epigraphia Indica* II, pp. 347-58, lines 48-49).
- Line 37. *Vappadevapātaka*—*Pātaka* means 'part of a village' or 'the outlying part of a village' or a 'hamlet'. (*Glossary*, p. 242). Here the last meaning seems to be the most appropriate one. The plot of

land donated by the present charter seems to have been sliced away (*apakṛṣṭa*) from the hamlet named Vappadeva. P. C. Choudhury conjectures Vappadevapāṭaka to have been somewhere in the modern Bārpeta subdivision of the Kāmṛūp district. P. C. Choudhury, however, reads the name as Vapādevapāṭaka. For our preference to read as Vappadevapāṭaka see notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjara.

Apakṛṣṭa—This word may mean 'distant', 'inferior' or 'taken away'. As an adjective to *dhānya* it would mean 'paddy of inferior type'. But since this term often occurs in the grants, and since the kings would have hardly donated any land with an yield of inferior type, such a meaning is not suitable. In the Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla, the word *apakṛṣṭa* does not occur with *dhānya*. *Apakṛṣṭa* cannot be taken to be an adjective of *bhūmi* in the sense of 'inferior'. The kings would not have so often donated lands only of inferior quality. Hence, *apakṛṣṭa* means 'sliced off' as an adjective to *bhūmi*, i.e., the plot of land donated by the grant concerned. The word *apakṛṣṭa* is often preceded by the name of a *pāṭaka* or a village (*grāma*) or the word *bhūmi* (land), which refers to the original area from which the donated plot is sliced off. The idea of this cutting away is more distinct in the Guvākuchi grant of Indrapāla due to the ablative case, in the word *bhūmitaḥ* in line 34 (cf. *uttarakūle mandiviṣayāntaḥpāṭi-paṇḍaribhūmito'pakṛṣṭadhānyadvisahasrotipattikabhūmau*, lines 34-35).

dhānyadvisahasrotipattikabhūmi—This type of indication of the measurement of the donated land is found for the first time in this grant. In the Nowgong grant of Balavarman we have *dhānyacatussahasrotipattimatibhūmi*. Again we have *dhānyadvisahasrotipattikabhūmau* in the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla and the Guvākuchi grant of Indrapāla, and so on. The number *dvisahasra* implies two thousand units of paddy and most probably the unit intended is a *droṇa*. The weight of the contents of a *droṇa* is variously given in the Sanskrit lexicons. The present measure of a *droṇa* in the Kāmṛūp area is a little more than 4 kilo grams or 5 seers in case of rice and 3½ seers in case of paddy. P. C. Choudhury shows that the plot of land yielding 2000 *droṇas* should roughly measure 5 *bighas*.

Line 38. *samupasthita brāhmaṇa*, etc. The king passes his orders (*samādiśati*) for all those who are present in, or concerned with, the plot of the donated land, and for all those who will happen to be so (*bhāvino'pi*). So far as the inscriptions of ancient Assam are concerned we find the mention of the dignitaries like this for the first time in this grant. In the later inscriptions, however, it is found to have been a common practice.

Line 39. *rāṇaka*—We have preferred to retain the word as it is in the translation. D.C. Sircar gives the meaning as follows—‘a feudatory title, title of feudatory rulers and later of the nobility’. According to him in one place it is also used to mean ‘the chief counsellor’. (*Glossary*, p. 276).

rājānaka—This word also means a feudatory. But here it means a feudatory, smaller than the *rāṇaka*.

rājaputra—A subordinate ruler.

rājavallabha—A court favourite, i.e., a courtier. Almost the same list of subordinates and officials addressed by the king in respect of a grant is found also in the later inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa kings.

Line 40.—From *bhūmiriyam* up to *vinivāritasaryapīḍā* in line 43 we have the privileges attached to the free holding donated by this charter. P. N. Bhattacharyya calls it the *anuśāsanavākya* (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 86). In English such a statement embodying the privileges may be called the ‘statement of privileges’. After this grant, we find such a statement of privileges in all the later C. P. grants of the Kāmarūpa kings. For other privileges attached to free holdings see D. C. Sircar, *Glossary*, p. 388.

Line 42. *hastibandha*—This term may also mean ‘a kind of tax’. (*Glossary* p. 127).

cauroddharaṇa—D. C. Sircar suggests ‘recovery of stolen property’ as one of the meanings of this term. (*Glossary* p. 71).

Uparikara—‘tax paid by temporary tenants’ (*Glossary*, p. 352). Hoernle remarks—‘*uparikara* is a fiscal term; the rent or tax (*kara*) paid by an *upari* or tenant who does not reside or has no occupancy rights in the land’ (Quoted in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 86).

nānānimittoḥkhetana—From the Nidhanpur grant (line 136) we are already familiar with the term *utkheṭayitā*. *Uḥkhetana* is an impost levied upon the villagers on specified occasions. It is probably the trouble of free labour. These two terms, i.e., *Uparikara* and *Utkheṭana* are found only in the grants of Assam. (*Glossary*, p. 354). P. C. Choudhury opines that “both *uprikara* and *utkheṭana* were extra or irregular levies, payable by all cultivators, and the State collected them only as an emergency measure, as recommended by Hindu texts” like the *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V. Chap. II. (For this opinion and other interpretations of these terms see *HCPA*, p. 274 f)

Line 52. *Vaikāṅka*—Taking the word to be *vikāṅkata*, P. C. Choudhury gives the meaning as the orange tree. As found in *Raghuvamśa*

11.25, ladles used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire (*srūk*) used to be made of vikaṅkata trees.

tripatraka—P. C. Choudhury gives it as the *vilva* (Assamese *bel*) tree (i.e., the wood-apple tree). V. S. Apte gives it as the *palāśa* tree. But in Assam, a *bel tree* being a stronger and more lasting tree happens to be a more common indicator of the boundary.

viṭiṣṭūpa—*stūpa* means a bush. *Viṭa* means a *khadira* or an orange tree. *Viti-stupa* means a bush containing *viṭa*-trees and it is more likely to mean a bush containing orange trees to which again the indicatory banyan tree belonged.

suvarṇadāru—This tree is mentioned also in the Nowgong grant of Balavarman (line-48). P. N. Bhattacharyya conjectures it to be the *pīta-dāru*, (i.e., the pine tree). But pine trees are rare in the plains of Assam, and the *sonāru* is a common tree. The derivation of the name *sonāru* from *suvarṇa dāru* is also very likely. *Son* (Skt. *suvarṇa*) + *āru* (Skt. *dāru*).

No. 12. **THE NOWGONG COPPER PLATE GRANT OF
BALAVARMAN III**

(The last quarter of the ninth century A.D.)

References—Hoernle, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI, pp. 285-97, P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 88-109, and *Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā*, No. 2, 1317 sāl.

Place and history—A set of three copper plates held together by a ring attached to a laddle-shaped seal was first discovered by a cultivator in the village Sutārgāon by the side of the river Kalang near the small town of Puraṇigudām, six miles to the east of Nowgong. From the cultivator the plates reached the hands of a certain Police Inspector, who handed over the same to MM. Dhīreśvara Bhaṭṭāchāryya. The text was first published by the Mahāmahopādhyāya in a contemporary number of the Assamese magazine named *Āsām*. In 1893 Sir Edward Gait, the first Director of Antiquarian Studies, Assam, took the copper plates from the Mahāmahopādhyāya and sent them to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Dr. Hoernle published the text with translation and notes and photograph of the seal and the plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in 1897. Later on it was included in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* by P. N. Bhattacharyya. These plates are now preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

Description—Each of the three plates measure 12" × 7" (approx). In the inner side of the first plate and in both sides of the second plate there are 12 lines each. In the inner side of the third plate there are 13 lines. The seal is almost similar to that of the Uttarbarbil plates containing the legend "svasti śrīmān prāgyyotiṣādhīpānvayo mahārājādhirāja śrībalavarmadevaḥ" with an initial *āñji* sign, in three lines. The letters engraved on the plates are very clear and are preserved in almost a very good condition. Whatever was lost to the earlier scholars can now be restored with help of the Uttarbarbil plates.

The text—The first 25 verses are common to the Uttarbarbil plates. The immediately following prose portion ending in the word *kuśalī* (line 36 of the Uttarbarbil plates) is also common. The word *kuśalī* occurs in the line 33 of the Nowgong plates.

Then follows the description of the donated land, the designations of the subordinates and officials addressed by the king in

connection with the grant, and the privileges attached to the donated land, with slight differences in respect of the corresponding matters of the Uttarbarbil plates. Then we have another seven verses, not common to the Uttarbarbil plates, and the boundaries of the donated land.

Script and orthography—The script is similar to that of the Uttarbarbil plates. The letter ञ in line 9 of plate Ib is very similar to the same in the modern Assamese/Bengali script. In this grant the अनुस्वार is given only in the form of a dot above the letter concerned and not also in a form similar to that found in the modern Assamese/Bengali script. Unlike in other inscriptions of ancient Assam final m is given as अनुस्वार only once in this grant (Vide line 49, plate IIIa). In other places it is given either as न् or as म् with a clear dash below. We are presenting the text in full for the convenience of noticing its orthographical differences with the text of the Uttarbarbil plates.

Metres—(of the last seven verses not common to the Uttarbarbil plates)
 VV. 26, 29, Upajāti (of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā);
 V. 27, Indravajrā;
 V. 28, Upendravajrā;
 VV. 30-32, Āryā.

TEXT

First Plate : Inner side

1. ६⁸⁴स्वस्ति । भवतु भवतिमिरभिदुरन्तेजो रौद्रं प्रशान्तये जगतः । परिवर्त्तते
 समग्रं × × × × ×⁸⁵
2. ने यत्⁸⁶ ॥१॥ छरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलन् ॥⁸⁷ कैलास-
 कटकमृगमदवासितम् (प-)
3. हरतु दुरितम्बः ॥२॥ प्रलयपयोधौ मग्नमुद्धरतो वष्टमतीमुपेन्द्रस्य । नरक इति
 सुतुरासीदछरछ-
4. हृत्कोरुपभृतः⁸⁸ ॥३॥ त्रैलोक्यविजयतुङ्गं येनापहतं यशो महेन्द्रस्य । अदितेः
 कुण्डलयुगलं कपोलदो-

⁸⁴ P. N. Bhattacharyya noticed this *āṅgi*. 'But in our photograph of the plate now only the space can be seen.

⁸⁵ The missing letters may be restored from the Uttarbarbil plates.

⁸⁶ Now these letters are not clear in the original plate.

⁸⁷ Read म् for न्

⁸⁸ P. N. Bhattacharyya reads भृतः But भृतः is very clear.

5. लाइत⁸⁹हरता ॥४॥ ताम्बूलबहोपरिणद्धपूरां कृष्णागुस्स्कन्धनिवेशितैलम् । स
6. कामरूपे जितकामरूपः प्रागज्योतिषाख्यं पुरमध्युवास ॥५॥ मदान्धगन्धद्विप-
7. कर्णतालनृत्यन्मयूरोपवने स तस्मिन् । वसन्समासाद्य मुरारिचक्रं रणे
8. रणैवो दिवमारुरोह ॥६॥ भूपालमौलिमणिचुम्बितपादपीठस्तस्यात्मजोभूद्-
9. गदत्तनामा । राजा प्रजारजनलब्धवर्णो वर्णाश्रमाणाङ्गुरेकवीरः ॥७॥ उपगतवति
छुरलोकं तस्मि(')-
10. स्तस्यानुजोभवद्भूमेः । पतिरमलभक्तिरीशे यं प्रादुर्वर्जदत्त इति कवयः ॥८॥
तद्वशे वनवप्राम्परीखी-
11. कृतसागराम्महीं⁹⁰भूक्त्वा । अस्तङ्गतेषु राजस्य सालस्तम्भोभवन्नृपतिः ॥९॥ पालक-
विजयप्रभृतिषु सम-
12. — — | —स्य⁹¹वंश्येषु । अभवद्भुवि नृपचन्द्रो द्विषज्वरो⁹² हज्जरो
नाम ॥१०॥ अहमहमिकया विवन्दिषूणां

Second Plate : Obverse

13. × × × × × × × प्रभाप्रतानैः । न मुकुटमणयो विभान्ति राज्ञां रविकर-
सम्बलिता इव प्रदीपा(:) ॥११॥
14. तस्यात्मजः श्रीवनमालदेवो राजा चिरम्भक्तिपरो भवेभूत् । विशालवक्षस्त्रनुवृत्तमध्यः
पि-
15. नद्धकण्ठः परिधाभवाहुः ॥१२॥ न क्रुद्धं विकृतास्यं न च हसितं न च वचशश्रुतश्री-
चात् । न च किञ्चिदुक्तमहितम्महि-
16. तं शीलं सदैव यस्याभूत् ॥१३॥ येनावुलापि सतुला जगति विशालापि भूरिकृतशाला ।
पंक्तिः प्रासादानाम-
17. कृतविचित्रापि सचित्रा ॥१४॥ तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयमालदेवः क्षीराम्बुराशेरिव
शीतरश्मिः
18. । वभूव यस्यास्त्वलितम्भ्रमन्ति यशाङ्गसि कुन्देन्दुसमप्रभाणि ॥१५॥ स श्रीमा
न्वनमालोपि

⁸⁹ Read कपोलदोलायितं .

⁹⁰ P. N. Bhattacharyya reads महीभुक्त्वा . But the present reading with अनुस्वार is very clear.

⁹¹ Hoernle very correctly emended as समतिक्रान्तेषु तस्य as is warranted by the Uttarbarbil plates.

⁹² Read द्विषज्वरो .

19. राजा राजीवलोचनः । अवेद्य विनयोपेतं तनूज⁹³म्प्राप्तयौवनम्⁹⁴ ॥१६॥ च्छत्तं श-
 20. शधरधवलं चामरयुगलान्वितं प्रदायास्मै । अनशनविधिना वीरस्तेजसि माहेश्वरे
 21. लीनः ॥१७॥ प्राप्तराज्येन तेनोढा राज्ञा श्रीवीरवाहुना । कुलेन कान्त्या वयसा
 अम्बानामात्मनस्समा ॥१८॥ तेनोदपादि
 22. तस्यामरणाविव पावकः प्रयोगविदा । बलवर्म्ममिति प्रथितः श्रीमत्तनयस्समग्र-
 गुणयुक्तः ॥१९॥ असितसरो-
 23. रुहचलदलनिभनयनः पीनकन्धरस्पृभुजः । अभिनवदिनकरकरहृत्तद्विलितनवनलिनकान्ति-
 24. सच्छायः ॥२०॥ गच्छति तिथिमतिकाले स कदाचित्कर्मणाम्बिपाकवशात् ।
 राजा रुजा⁹⁵भिभूतो लङ्घितभिषजा रणस्तम्भः⁹⁶ ॥२१॥

Second Plate : Reverse

25. निस्सारं संसारं जललवलोलञ्ज जीवितम्पुङ्खाम्⁹⁷ । विगणय्य वीरवाहुः
 कर्त्तव्यमचिन्तयच्छेषम्⁹⁷ ॥२२॥ अथ पुण्ये-
 26. हनि नृपतिस्तनयन्तमुद्रग्रविग्रहम्विधिवत् । केसरि⁹⁸किशोरसदृशं सिङ्हासनमौलिता-
 मनयत् ॥२३॥ तदनन्त-
 27. रमधिगम्य प्राज्यं तद्राज्यं माज्यमिव बह्विः । बलवर्म्ममपि दिदीपे प्रोत्सारितसकल-
 रिपुतिमिरः ॥२४॥ अभ-
 28. वज्रयकरिकुम्भस्खलितोर्म्मैरमलवारिधेस्तस्य । लौहित्यस्य समीपे तदेव पैतामहं
 कटकम् ॥२५॥ तत्त्रयो-
 29. मति हृदपेश्वरनामनि कटके कृतव⁹⁹सतिरुत्खातासिलतामरीचिनिचयमेचकितेन
 30. वाहुना ।¹ विजितसकलदिक्कवालो वीर(ः) प्रधने भीरुरयशशि² तीक्ष्णो
 रिपुषु मृदुत-

⁹³ P. N. Bhattacharya reads तनूज . But in both the plates the word is clearly given as तनूज .

⁹⁴ Read यौवनम् .

⁹⁵ The letters रुजा were left out by the scribe and were given below the present line.

⁹⁶ These letters are not clear in the photograph of the plates.

⁹⁷ In both these places P. N. Bhattacharyya gives an अनुस्वार . But the म् with a dash below is quite clear.

⁹⁸ P. N. Bhattacharyya reads केशरि . But केसरि is quite clear.

⁹⁹ The व has been left out from the line and inscribed below the main word.

¹ This line is redundant.

² Read भीरुरयशसि ,

31. रो गुरुषु । सत्यवागविसम्वादी कृत्वाविकत्थनः स्थूललक्षो मातापितृपादानु-
32. ध्यानधौतकलमपः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीवल्लवर्म-
33. देवः कुशली ॥३॥ दक्षिणकूले दिज्जिन्नाविषयान्तःपातिनी घान्यचतुस्सहस्रोत्पत्तिमती
हेङ्सिवाभिधा-
34. ना भूमिः । अस्यास्सन्निकृष्टवर्त्तिनो यथायथं³ समुपस्थितब्राह्मणादिविषयकरण-
व्यावहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् ।
35. राजराजिराणकाधिकृतानन्यांश्च यथाकालमाविनोपि सर्वान् सम्माननापूर्वम्मानयति
बोधयति समादि-
36. शति च । इति विदितमस्तु भवताम्भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावकराद्यु-
पेता यथासंस्था स्वसी-

Third Plate : Inner Side

37. मोहेशपर्यन्ता । राज्ञीराजपुत्रराणकराजवल्लभमहल्लकप्रौढिकाहास्तिवन्धिकनौकावन्धिक
चौरो-
38. द्वरणिकदाण्डिकदाण्डपाशिक - औपरिकरिक - औत्वेडिकच्छत्रवासाद्युपद्रवकारिणाम-
प्रवेशा । का-
39. ण्वः कृती कापिलगोत्रदीपो मालाधरो नाम बभूव भट्टः । विद्यातपस्सम्पदुपात्तसम्य-
ग्विवेकविध्वस्तसम-
40. स्तदोषः ॥२६॥ देवप्रियो देवधरस्सज्जन्मा तस्यापि सूनुः सकृतात्मनोभूत् । अध्वर्युणा
येन कृतं विभज्य
41. वैतानिकं कर्म निराकुलेन ॥२७॥ गृहीतविद्यस्सगृहीतनामा गृहाभमावाप्तिप-
42. रो गृहिण्या । अयुज्यतासौ प्रभयेव भानुरुषस्स शामायिकया मनस्वी ॥२८॥ अहस्त्रि-
43. यामप्रतिमं प्रसक्तमन्योन्यसापेक्षमिदं हि युरमं । लेभे सुतं नाशितदोषमेनमा-
44. लोकमर्कादिव विश्वमेतत् ॥२९॥ अयमिह विनीयमानः भ्रुतीश्च⁴ सम्यग् धरिष्यते
सर्वाः । भ्रु-
45. तिधर इति नामासौ पित्रा प्रथितोऽथ⁵ लोकेषु ॥३०॥ स समावृत्तो गुरुतो गृह-
धर्मविधित्तरागतस्साधुः । काले वि-

³ In the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* it is printed as *yathāpatham*.

⁴ This reading is suggested by P. N. Bhattacharya in place of the original
भ्रुतयस्.

⁵ In this plate only in this place we find the sign for an elided *a* (लुप्तअकार)

46. पुवत्यर्थी धर्मपरः पण्डितः कथानिष्ठः ॥३१॥ तस्मै विप्राय मया स्नात्वा सम्यक्
समाधिना दत्ता । यदिह फलं तत् पि-
47. त्रोर्मपमापि लोकोत्तरं भूयात् ॥३२॥ अस्यास्तीमा पूर्व्वेण कोप्पाः । गोसन्तारश्च ।
पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन जम्बुश्रीफलवृक्षाः ।
48. दक्षिणेन बृहदालिः सुवर्णदासवृक्षश्च । दक्षिणपश्चिमेनान्नवृक्षः । पश्चिमेन बृहदालिः
शालमलीवृक्षश्च । पश्चिमोत्त-
49. रेण बृहद्वटवृक्षः दिहेसावापी च । उत्तरेण सेववाप्यदं । उत्तरपुर्व्वेण पुष्करिणी^६
जटिवृक्षश्चेति ॥ संवत्(व)सौ

TRANSLATION

(of the text given from line 23)

On the southern bank, in the district of Dijjinnā, there is an area of land called Heṇsivā, having an yield of 4000 units of paddy. (The king) with due respect makes an appeal, gives to learn, and makes an order to citizens beginning with the brāhmaṇas, the scribes and the administrators duly present in the land or at the vicinity of he land, and also to others who are associated with the *rājā* and the *rājñī* and the *rāṇaka*, and also to all who will happen to be there in course of time, (as follows) :

Let it be known to you that this plot of land consisting of home-stand-land, paddy fields, dry lands, ponds, grounds and mounds standing as it is up to its own boundaries is (by virtue of this grant rendered) out of bounds to all the trouble-makers like the *rājñī* (queen) the *rājaputra*, the *rāṇaka*, the favourite of the king, the old female guard of the harem, the collectors of the *Hastibandha* tax and the *Naūkābandha* tax, the officer in charge of the recovery of stolen property, the policeman, the inflictor of punishment, and the collector of the tenants' taxes and duties and the (royal) umbrella bearer. (lines 33-38).

There was a successful (brāhmaṇa) named Mālādhara Bhaṭṭa, a follower of the *Kāṇva śākhā* (of Vedas), who was a lamp of the *Kāpila gotra* as it were; he could overcome all faults with a perfect power of discrimination derived through learning and the wealth of penance (v. 26).

That pious man also had a son named Devadhara, who was a favourite of the gods and a man of auspicious birth; as a sacrificer he performed the Vedic rites in proper parts in an unbewildered manner (v. 27).

When this learned wise man of an appropriate name desired to enter into the life of a householder, he became united with *Śāmāyikā* in the manner of the sun being united with a lusture at the dawn. (v. 28).

^६ This is a Prākṛitism for पुष्करिणी peculiar to the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa.

This couple, attached to, and complimentary to, each other, like the day and the night, begot a son capable of removing sin (*doṣa*) like the world receiving from the sun a light capable of ending the night (*doṣā*) (v. 29).

He became famous in the world with the name Śrutidhara, given to him by his father with the conviction that being tutored in time he would earn mastery over all the Vedas. (v. 30).

This honest and pious scholar, skilled in sacred recitation, coming back as a graduate from the home of the preceptor with a desire to enter into the life of a householder comes here (i.e., to the court) as a supplicant. (v. 31).

I give (this chartered) land to that brāhmaṇa, with all devotion, after taking a (ceremonial) bath. The result of this (donation) may be the cause of my and my parents' gaining (welfare in) the other world. (v. 32).

The boundaries of this (land) are as follows :

To the east Koppā and a cattle path. To the south-east a blackberry tree and a śrīphala tree. To the south the highway and the *sonāru* tree. To the south-west the mango tree. To the west the highway and the silk cotton tree. To the north-west the big banyan tree and the tank of Diddesā. To the north half of the Sevā pond. To the north-east a pond and the wave-leaved fig tree.

In the eighth year. (lines 47-49).

NOTES

Line 33. *dakṣiṇakūla*—Hoernle gives the translation as 'on the southern side'. According to the late Pandit Hem Candra Goswami, the word *dakṣiṇa* also might mean the 'right' side of the river Lauhitya flowing from the east to the west, and as such, *dakṣiṇakūla* would mean the northern bank lying to the right side of the river. MM. Pītāmbara Siddhānta Vāgīśa, who was born in the Śarābārī maujā of the Mangaldoi sub-division of the Darrang district, lying on the northern side of the river, describes his birth place to be on the *dakṣiṇakūla*, at the colophone of his *Dāyakaumudī* (written in Śaka 1526). cf.

Pītāmbareṇa guṇasundaramandireṇa

kāmeśvarīcaraṇareṇuparāyaṇena.

lauhityadakṣiṇakūle'pi samudbhavena

bhūyāt kṛtaḥ kṛtimude sahito nibandhaḥ.

P. N. Bhattacharyya gives the Bengali translation of *dakṣiṇakūla* as *dakṣiṇakūla*, and in a foot-note accepts the probability of the meaning being 'on the northern side'. (vide *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 55). But, in

our opinion, here the meaning is 'on the southern side' as warranted by the following evidences—

(i) In no other inscription of Kāmarūpa kings the word *dakṣiṇakūla* is used in the sense of the northern bank (of the river Lauhitya). We have the term *uttarakūla* in Parbatīyā plates of Vanamāla (line 48), the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla (line 52), the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla (line 35) and the Guvākuci grant of Indrapāla (line 34).

(ii) In the Guvākuci grant of Indrapāla we have the expressions *uttarakūla* and *dakṣiṇakūla* side by side. cf. *hāhāraviṣolottarakūle* (line 53) and *śākhoṭakajoladakṣiṇakūlam* (line 55). Hence, *dakṣiṇakūla* could not have been used to mean the north bank also.

(iii) When the term *uttarakūla* was already in abundant use, there is the least likelihood of the term *dakṣiṇakūla* having been used in the sense of the north bank.

(iv) MM Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa's use of the term *dakṣiṇakūla* in the sense of the north bank is a much later evidence to be capable of justifying an unusual use of a much earlier date.

(v) MM Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa had to use the term *dakṣiṇakūla* in the sense of the north bank, presumably on metrical grounds. In the prose passages of the inscriptions there was no such reason for using the term *dakṣiṇakūla* in the sense of the north bank in a rather confusing manner.

(vi) To understand the *dakṣiṇakūla* as the north bank we must also know the course of the river. Hence, in Siddhāntavāgīśa's verse we find the clear mention of the name of the river Lauhitya. But in the C.P. grants the terms *uttarakūla* and *dakṣiṇakūla* are used without the mention of the name of the river in such a manner as if the whole kingdom was broadly divided into two well-known parts, viz. the north bank and the south bank.

(vii) Even today in the district of Kāmrūp the terms *uttarpār* and *dakṣiṇpār* are commonly used in the sense of the northern part and the southern part of the district respectively.

Line 37. *mahallakapraudhikā*—The word *mahallaka* probably means a member of the Pañcāyat. The term is also explained as 'city elders'. (Glossary. p. 178). The word *praudhikā* taken separately should mean an old woman in general. Hence, the two words are taken together to mean the 'old female guard of the harem', with the word *mahallaka* in the sense of a palatial building, as given by V.S. Apte. The word *mahallaka* also means 'a eunuch in a king's harem' (Apte). In that sense *mahallakapraudhikā* is the 'old woman who officiates in place of the eunuch'.

hāstibandhika—In the Uttarbarbil plates we have the term *hastibandha*. There, it is translated in a simple manner as the act of fastening elephants. But here, the word *hāstibandhika*, occurring with the word *upadravakāriṇām* seems to refer to a certain officer enjoying some authority. D. C. Sircar gives the meaning of *hastibandha* as the 'name of a tax' (*Glossary* p. 127), on the strength of which we have also preferred to translate the term *hāstibandhika* as the 'collector of the hastibandha tax'.

naukābandhika—D. C. Sircar gives the meaning of *naukābandha* as 'a levy from the boatman at landing places'. On the basis of this we have translated *naukābandhika* as the 'collector of the naukābandha tax'.

Line 38. *Chatravāsa*—According to Hoernle this term means the person who might cause trouble on account of 'the providing of the rooms for the Royal umbrella'. But this seems to be a very vague idea. Elsewhere in similar statements of privileges we have the expression *abhaṭa-cchātra-praveśya*, the word *chātra* of which is supposed to mean literally 'the king's umbrella-bearer'. (*Glossary*, p. 73). The present term surely has some similarity with the term *chātra*, as both occur in similar contexts. Hence, we have preferred to understand the meaning as 'the (royal) umbrella-bearer'. For notes on the terms *auparikarika* and *autkheṭika*, cf. notes on the terms *uparikara* and *utkheṭana* under the Uttarbarbil C.P. grant of Balavarman III.

Line 39. *Kāpilagotrādīpa*—We have a reference to the Kāpila gotra for the first time in this grant of all the grants of the Kāmarūpa kings.

Line 42. *Śāmāyikā*—P. N. Bhattacharaya suggests that the name is probably Śyāmāyikā and the reading is given as Śāmāyikā only for the sake of metre. In the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla also the name of the mother of the donee is Śyāmāyikā.

Line 47. *Koppā*—We could not make out any sense of this word. It may be the Prākṛtised form of *Kūpa*, a well. Śrīphala is given in the translation as it is in order to distinguish it from *vilva*, wood apple. *Śrīphala* is a much larger variety of the common wood apple (*vilva*).

Line 49. *Samva (t va) sau*—The letters put within brackets are supplied by P. N. Bhattacharaya as the two original letters are effaced. This emendation is quite happy. The number-symbol word *vasu* means eight. It is very significant to note that this is the solitary number-symbol word in the whole mass of inscriptions, prior to the Assam

Plates of Vallabhadeva of Śaka 1107. Another significant thing is that the word *vasu* which is also an auspicious word, meaning wealth, is the first number-symbol word used also by Piṅgala, who is, in our opinion, the founder of the very mechanism of the number-symbol words. Piṅgala introduces the mechanism of number-symbol words with the rule, 1.15 of his *Chandaḥsūtra*; "*aṣṭau vasava iti*". ("In this *śāstra* the word *vasu* means eight." (See Mukunda Madhava Sharma's paper, 'Some observations on the Chronogram of the Kānāi Baraśi Bowā Rock Inscription of North Gauhati', *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. XX No. 1. pp. 1-16).

No. 13. THE BARGĀON COPPER PLATE GRANT OF
RATNAPĀLA

(c. 1035 A.D.⁷)

References—Hoernle, *JASB*, Vol. LXVII (1898), pp. 99 ff.; P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 88-109, and *Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, sāl 1322, No. 1.

Place and history—Regarding the place and history of this grant we learn from the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* as follows : The exact place where this grant was discovered is not known. But it has been recovered from a cultivator of the Nāharhābi village of the Bārgāon maujā of the Tezpur sub-division of the Darrang district, and it reached the hands of Sir Edward Gait some time in the year 1897. The Suwālkuchi grant of Ratnapāla was discovered one year earlier. Both these grants were edited and published by Dr. Hoernle in the *JASB* in 1898 after they were received from Gait in May 1896 and April 1897 respectively. (Vide *Śāsanāvalī*, p. 89 and p. 110).

From the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* it could not be ascertained as to where the original plates are available now. Our efforts, in the mean time, to trace them in the probable places like the Indian Museum and the Asiatic Society of Calcutta have all gone in vain. While our frantic efforts in this direction were still going on an interesting development had taken place. A few weeks back from now (i.e., July 30, 1975) a set of copper plates has been discovered in the Dhekiajuli area by Shri Karunananda Dutta, Principal, Lokanayak Omeo Kumar Das College, Dhekiajuli. Taking this grant to be an entirely new find, a news about its discovery has been published in the *Danik Assam* (an Assamese daily published from Gauhati) of July 6, 1975 along with the photograph of the plate II(b). From the photograph the newly found grant could be immediately identified as the Bargāon grant itself. Subsequently I could procure the photographs of all the inscribed sides to be confirmed about the aforesaid identification. Though it is not stated in the *KŚ* we may now safely presume that the Bargāon plates have been returned to the original discoverer after they have been deciphered by Hoernle. Immediately after its re-discovery Principal Dutta sent the plates

⁷ This charter had been issued in the 25th year of Ratnapāla's reign. Dr. Hoernle fixes the period of Ratnapāla's reign to be from 1010 to 1050 A.D. We have fixed the present date accordingly. See Hoernle, *JASB*, part I, No. 1. of 1895, p. 195.

to the Assam Museum, Gauhati, along with a long note. Now he has very kindly sent me an extract from the said note on July 22, 1975. The relevant portion of the said extract reads as follows :

“One copper plate inscription has recently been discovered at village Ghagra-Barpeta in Dhekiajuli Mauja of Tezpur subdivision of Darrang district. The inscription consists of three plates bound together by a stout ring carrying a massive seal which contains inscribed figure of an elephant. The present owner of the plates is Shri TUNIRAM BORA, a cultivator of the village. According to the statement made by Shri Bora, the inscription was first discovered in the time of his father while digging a ditch in their old homestead nearby. Shri Bora also states that the plates had been taken from his father by some Englishman and brought to Shillong and they were returned after some time (along with a suitable monetary reward). They are lying in their family ever since and have been preserved with great care and reverence and kept in the ‘Nāmghar’ where puja is offered to the plates on auspicious occasions. The plates as found now bear evidence of having been photographed and studied previously.”

Description—This grant consists of three copper plates bound together in a ring (about 1 c.m. in diameter) attached to a laddle-shaped seal. There are four inscribed pages, viz., the second (i.e., inner) side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate, and the first (i.e., inner) side of the third plate. There are 17 lines in the first page (i.e., inner side of the first plate), 20 lines in each side of the second plate and 15 lines in the last page. Each plate measures $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$ in size. The seal having the mark of an elephant-head has the following legend in three lines :

स्वस्ति प्रागुज्योतिषाधिपति

महाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्न

पालवर्मदेवः ॥

With this charter king Ratnapāla, the son and immediate successor of king Brahmapāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Ancient Assam grants a plot of land having the capacity to yield 2000 units of paddy to a brahmin donee named Viradatta. The donated land belonged to a locality named Lāvukuṭi in the viṣaya named Trayodaśagrāma in the north bank of the river Brahmaputra. It is now difficult to identify any of these places. But although the find spot of an inscription need not necessarily be the same as the land donated, yet on the strength of the mention of the north bank and the fact that the find spot also was in the north bank of the river Brahmaputra, it may be conjectured that

the land donated was somewhere near the present find spot itself, i.e. somewhere in the Tezpur sub-division of the Darrang district and most probably very near to the Brahmaputra river.

Language, script and orthography—The language of the grant is Sanskrit. There are 15 verses preceding a long prose passage covering 30 lines of the inscription. Lines 28 to 52 give a description of the patron king in prose, as beautiful as that of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. But the earlier verses, though highly embellished with various types of figures of speech, sometimes smack of artificiality. Then we have another five verses for describing the donee followed by seven and half lines in prose for giving the boundaries. The language of the inscription is chaste but contains a number of intricate grammatical forms. The original reading of the grant was full of omissions and commissions. But P. N. Bhattacharyya, after due emendations, presents a text which appears to be free from any such omission or commission. We have taken full help of the emendations of P. N. Bhattacharya in presenting the text below. The script is similar to that of the plates of Balavarman. Consonants are generally reduplicated after *repha*. In some places (lines 5 and 11 etc.) *n* is given in place of *anusvāra*. Final *m*, even before a vowel or at the end of a sentence is shown with *anusvāra*, while even before a consonant a final *m* is given in place of an *anusvāra*. There are two forms of the *anusvāra*. In certain places it is almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script. In one place, i.e., line 11, a final *m* occurs with a dash (i.e., a *halanta* sign) below. No distinction is maintained between *b* and *v*. The difficult grammatical constructions are pointed out in the notes. But the text is presented in a somewhat rectified form, pointing out the flaws of the original text in the foot notes.

Metres VV. 1-2, 10-11, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; V. 3, Vamśasthavila; VV. 4-8, 13-15, Vasantatilakā; V. 9, Sragdharā; V. 12, Mālinī; VV. 16, 17, 19, Indravajrā; V. 20, Anuṣṭubh (Pathyāvakra).

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. स्वस्ति । द्रष्टेव प्रतिविम्ब⁸कैर्लखगते(ः) स्वर्न्त्यसम्पद्विधेः सौवशीव⁹ गति
शुभां प्रकटयन्टस्थोनि-

⁸ In the whole inscription no distinction is maintained between *b* and *v*. We have deliberately retained this great peculiarity of the Kāmarūpa plates by giving *v* even where *b* is desirable.

⁹ The original is सोसश्चेव.

2. शन्ताण्डर्वी¹⁰ । एवं यः परमात्मवत्पृथुगुणो ह्येको¹¹प्यनेकी¹² भवन्
प्राकाम्यन्दधदेव भाति भुवने
3. स¹³स्तात् श्रिये शङ्करः ॥१॥ मूर्त्ता किं वहतीह¹⁴ शीतकररुक् किं¹⁵ स्फाटिकी
विद्रुतिः किम्बावौघविभेदनै-
4. कनिरता शक्तिः () शुभा शाङ्करी¹⁶ । यस्यापाङ्गतिमित्यवेत्य जनता जायेत¹⁷
धन्या द्रुतं पायात्स प्रणिह-
5. त्य सर्वकलुषं लौहियसिन्धुर्जगत् ॥२॥ धरां हरेरुद्धरतः किराकृते () पयोधिमग्ना ()
नरकोसुरांश-
6. क¹⁸(ः) । स सूनुरासी¹⁹त्सुरयोषिदब्जिनी श्रियम्प्रतीन्दू²⁰यितमेव येन हि ॥३॥
यश्चावलेति जरतीति भिया युते-
7. ति मूढेति वन्धुरहितेति विपद्गतेति । हित्वादिति²¹ स (म) वजित्य सुरानहार्षीत्
तत्कु-
8. गडले²² सुरयशोमहसी²³ इवाश्रये²⁴ ॥४॥ कान्तामुखैर्वहु²⁵विधाविव वीर-
वृन्दैस्तेजस्विभी
9. रविगणानिव सन्दधाने । प्राग्ज्योतिषे²⁶ वसदसौ प्रवरे पुराणां दोर्दृप्²⁷ संचरण-
10. चास्तराज्जितश्री () ॥५॥ युद्धे पुरातन इतीदृगुण () पितेति यावद्विचिन्त्य
कृपया स
11. चचार मन्दम् । तावद्धरिस्तमनयद्वि²⁸मातितान्सोस्तेजान्यहो नुरिह नो गणना-
12. स्ति वन्धौ ॥६॥ धीरस्ततस्तयश () पटगुणितताशो यश्चापि रक्तमकरोद्भुवनं
गुणौघैः । भव्यः स भूरिविभ-
13. वो भगदत्तनामा तस्यात्मज () क्षि (ति) धुरां विभराञ्चकार ॥७॥ वज्रीव
निर्जितरिपु () पृथुवज्रकान्तः स्वोर्जाज्जवा-

¹⁰ This *anusvāra* is almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script. This type of *anusvāra* is given in a few more places also.

¹¹ The original is ह्ये हो.

¹² The original reads कीने भवन्.

¹³ The original reads श.

¹⁴ The original is वहतिह.

¹⁵ The original is शीतकररुकीं.

¹⁶ The original is शाङ्करी.

¹⁷ The original is यायेत.

¹⁸ The original is नरकोसुरान्सक.

¹⁹ The original is सूनुराशीत्.

²⁰ The original is श्रीयम्प्रतिन्दूयितमेव.

²¹ The original is हित्वादितो.

²² The original is तत्कुण्डलेन.

²³ The original is महशी.

²⁴ The original is इवाश्रये.

²⁵ The original is र्वकुविधाविव.

²⁶ The original is प्राग्ज्योतिसे.

²⁷ The original is दोदप्प.

²⁸ The original is दिव.

14. जितजगजयलब्ध²⁹ कीर्ति(ः) । राज्यन्तदाप रुचमस्तमिते खरांशौ³⁰ भ्रातुः
शिखीव वलवानिह³¹ वज्रदत्तः ॥८॥
15. एवं वडशक्रमेण क्षितिमथ³² निखिलां भुञ्जता(ः) नारकाणां राज्ञा(ः)
म्लेच्छाधिनाथो विधिचलनवशादेव ज-
16. ग्राह राज्यम् । शालस्तम्भ(ः) क्रमेस्यापि हि नरपतयो विग्रहस्तम्भमुख्या
विख्याता(ः) सम्बभूवुर्द्विगुणि(त) दशता-
17. संख्यया संविभिन्ना(ः) ॥९॥ निर्वड्शं नृपमेकविसति³³ तमं श्रीत्यागसिंहाभिधन्ते-
पाम्बीक्ष्य³⁴ दिवङ्गतं पुनर-

Second Plate : Obverse

18. हो भौमो हि नो युज्यते । स्वामीति³⁵ प्रविचिन्त्य तत्प्रकृतयो भूभाररक्षाक्षमं
सागन्ध्यात्परिचक्रिरे नरप-
19. ति(ः) श्रीवह्मपालं हि यं ॥१०॥ एकोसौ जितवान् रिपून्³⁶ समिति भो(ः)
किं नाम चित्र(ः) निवदं³⁷ अत्रोदाहरणं हरो ह-
20. रिरहो भोष्मादयोन्ने³⁸ पि हि । इत्थं³⁹ सम्परिमृशय यस्य हि भटा(ः) स्थान-
स्थितस्य द्विषां दिव्वष्टस्वपि विद्र-
21. वेण महताश्चर्य्यन्सदा मेनिरे ॥११॥ विभवफलविलासास्वादजाताभिलाष(ः) स
युवतिमुपयेमे या-
22. नुरागाज्जनेषु⁴⁰ अवनिकुलसमुत्थ⁴¹ । द्मापसंप्राप्त⁴² लक्ष्म्याः स्थितमिव कुलदेवी
नामधेयम्बभार ॥१२॥
23. रत्नोपमानरपति(ः)⁴³ स्वगुणैर्महार्हान् यः पालयेदिति जनैरवगम्य सम्यक् ।
नीतः प्रसिद्धिमिह ते-

²⁹ The original is जयलब्ध.

³¹ The original is वलवान्निह.

³³ Read विंशति.

³⁵ The original is स्वामिति.

³⁷ The original is निवदं.

³⁹ The original is इत्थं.

⁴¹ The original is समुत्थ.

⁴³ This reading is given in the light of the K⁵. The original is रत्नोपमानरपति
Hoernle emends it as रत्नोपमो नरपतिः. The poet suggests that Ratnapāla
was called so because of protecting (root पाल्) those who resembled jewels (रत्नोप-
मान्). Hence, the reading given by the K⁵ is better.

³⁰ The original is खरान्तौ.

³² The original is स्विमथ.

³⁴ The original is ख्य.

³⁶ The original is जितवानृपुन्.

³⁸ The original is ने.

⁴⁰ The original is जानुरागा जनेषु.

⁴² The original is संप्राप्त.

24. न सकीत्तेन श्रीरत्नपाल इति सुनुरजायतायां ॥१३॥ दुर्वा⁴⁴वैरिकरि-
कुम्भभिदाभवास्त्रोतोव-
25. हाहतिचलत्करिसुक्तिकाभः । यद्युद्धमूर्ध्वपणिवद्धृतपाद्मरागा⁴⁵शोभिष्ट⁴⁶
26. वीरवणिजा() निकरैः प्रकीर्णा ॥१४॥ सिंहासनेथ नरका⁴⁷न्वयजाब्जभानु()
सम्वेश्य-
27. तं⁴⁸ दिवमगादकलङ्कगण्डः । कालोचितं विचरितुं हि महानुभावाः सम्बिद्र-
28. ते⁴⁹ हि गुणदोषविदो भवस्य ॥१५॥ निशितासिमरीचिमञ्जरीजटिलभुजवलवि-
29. जितनरपतिशतो⁵⁰पायनीकृतसमदगजघटाकटस्य⁵¹न्दिदानाम्बुशीकरासा-
30. रसमुपशमितसन्तापं सकलारिकटकलुण्ठनल⁵²म्पट-सुभटवाहुविटपाटवी-
31. सङ्कटमपि महाजननिवासयोग्यं । समदुन्दरीस्मितस्रग्धाधवलितसौधशि-
32. खरसहस्रान्तर्हित^{52a} - तरणिमण्डलं । मलयाचलस्थली⁵³रुहकाननमिवानेकभोगि⁵⁴-
शतसेवितं । नभो-
33. वर्त्मवावासुधगुरुकाव्यालङ्कारं । कैलासगिरिशिखरमिव परमेश्वराधिष्ठानं । वित्तेश-
निसेवित-⁵⁵
34. अ । यच्च शक्रक्रीडाश(कु)निदृढपञ्जरेण गुर्जराधिराजप्रज्वरेण⁵⁶ दुर्दान्त-
गौडेन्द्रकरिकृतपाकलेन
35. केरलेशाचल⁵⁷शिलाजनुना वाहिकताइका⁵⁸तङ्ककारिणा दाक्षिणात्यक्षौण्णितिराज-
यक्ष्मणा⁵⁹क्ष-
36. पितारातिपक्षतया क्षितिपवक्षःकपाटपटेनेव प्राकारेणावृतप्रान्त⁶⁰मुन्मदकलहन्स-
कामिनीकु-
37. लकुण्ठितपेशलमरुन्मदान्दोलितोर्मिशीकरैरुपशमितापावृतसौधशिखराधिरुदुन्दरीधर-

⁴⁴ There was no uniformity in the matter of reduplicating the consonants after the *repha*.

⁴⁵ The original is पाद्मरागी.

⁴⁷ The original is था नरका.

⁴⁹ The original is सम्बिद्रिते.

⁵¹ The original is स्यान्दि.

^{52a} The original is अन्तर्हित.

⁵⁴ The original is भोगी.

⁵⁶ The original is प्रजरेण.

⁵⁸ Read तायिकातङ्क.

⁶⁰ The original is प्रान्ठ.

⁴⁶ The original is शोभेत.

⁴⁸ The original is तां.

⁵⁰ The original is नरपतिसतो.

⁵² The original is ह्.

⁵³ The original is स्थली.

⁵⁵ Read निषेवित.

⁵⁷ The original is ला.

⁵⁹ The original is जन्मणा.

Second Plate : Reverse

38. तोत्सवायासेन कैलासकरिदुकूल⁶¹कदलिकापटे(ना)नेकनाकेशकामिनीविभ्रममणि-
दर्पणे-
39. न लौहियाम्भोधिना विराजमानं । माननीयमनेकमनु⁶²जपतिसार्थानां यथार्थभिधानं
40. प्राग्ज्योतिषेषु⁶³ दुर्जयाख्यपुरमध्युवास । तत्र च जडता हारयष्टिषु नेन्द्रियेषु
चञ्चलता हरि-
41. पु न मानसेषु भङ्गुरता भ्रूविभ्रमेषु न प्रतिपन्नेषु सोपसर्गता धातुषु न प्रजासु
वामता कामि-
42. नीषु स्वलितं मधुमदमुदितकामिनीगतिषु नि(:)स्पृहता दोषकारिषु निरत्ययमधु-
पानासक्ति⁶⁴र्म-
43. धुकर⁶⁵कुलेषु अत्यन्तं प्रिया⁶⁶नुवर्त्तनं रथाङ्गनामस्य पिशिता⁶⁷शिता श्वापदेषु तत्र
वासवा⁶⁸वा-
44. सरूपद्धिनि⁶⁹ विधुरिव विवर्द्धितशीलवेलाजलधिमण्डलः शत्रुसरसि⁷⁰दर्शितपद्मापहारश्च
मार्त्त-
45. गड इव भूतृच्छिरोनिवेशितपादः कमलाकरोद्भासनलालस्रश्च⁷¹ परमेश्व-
46. रोपि कामरूपानन्दी⁷² भौमान्वयोप्युल्लासितदानवारिः पुरुषोत्तमोप्यज-
47. नार्हन्(:) वीरोपि मत्ते⁷³भगामी यस्य⁷⁴ च मन्मथोन्माथि रूपं तिरस्कृता⁷⁵म्भोधि-
48. गाम्भीर्यं⁷⁶ जगद्विजयाशन्ति⁷⁷ शौर्यं⁷⁸ स्कन्दास्कन्दि वीर्यं यश्चाज्जुनो
यशसि⁷⁹भी-

⁶¹ The original is दुकुल.⁶² The original is मनज.⁶³ The original is प्राग्ज्योतिषेषु. प्राग्ज्योतिषेशः also might be the intended word.⁶⁴ The original is शक्ति.⁶⁵ The original is मधुकरकर.⁶⁶ The original is पृथा.⁶⁷ The original is पिशिता.⁶⁸ The original is वासपा.⁶⁹ The original is स्पद्धिनी. It may be noticed that long and short *i* are very indiscriminately used in this inscription.⁷⁰ The original is सत्रुसरसा.⁷¹ The original is ल्लाषश्च.⁷² The original is नन्दि.⁷³ The original is मत्तेह.⁷⁴ The original is यसा.⁷⁵ The original is तीरष्कृता.⁷⁶ Read गाम्भीर्यं.⁷⁷ Read शंसि.⁷⁸ The original is वीर्यं. But since there is वीर्यं again in the same line, what is intended seems to be शौर्यं. It is more idiomatic than धैर्यं suggested by P. N. Bhattacharyya.⁷⁹ The original is यशसि.

49. मसेनो युधि कृतान्तः क्रुधि दावानलो विपक्षवीरुधि शशधरो विद्यानभसि म-
 50. लयानिलः सृजनसुमनसि सूर्योरितमसि उदयाचलो मित्रोद्गमसम्पदि य(ः) ।
 51. महाराजाधिराजश्रीब्रह्मपालवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारको
 52. महाराजाधिराजः श्रीरत्नपा(ल) वर्मदेवः कुशली ॥*॥ उत्तरकूले त्रयोदश-
 ग्रामविषयान्तःपाति वा-
 53. मदेवपाटकापकृष्टभूमिसमेतलावुकुटिक्षेत्रे⁸⁰ धान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ । यथायथं
 ससुपस्थि-
 54. तत्राह्वणादिविषयकरणव्यावहारिकप्रमुखज्ञानपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि रा-
 55. जन्यक⁸¹ राजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं
 समादिशति विदितम(स्तु)
 56. भवतां भूमिरियम्वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसी-
 मोद्देश⁸² पर्यन्ता
 57. हस्तिवन्धनौकावन्धचौरोद्धरणदण्डपाशोपरि⁸³ करनानानिमित्तो⁸⁴ त्वेदतद्वस्त्यश्चोद्गरो-
 महिषाजावि-

Third Plate : Inner Side

58. क⁸⁵ प्रचारप्रभृतीनाम्निवारितसर्वपीडा शासनी⁸⁶ कृत्य ॥ पाराश⁸⁷ रोभृद्भवि
 देवदत्तः का-
 59. एवोऽग्रजो वाजसनेयकाग्रः । आसाद्य यम्वेदविदां पराद्धयं ग्रथ्या कृतार्थायितमेव
 सम्य-
 60. क् ॥१६॥ अग्न्याहित⁸⁸ तस्य वभूव सूनुः सद्गद्गदतो गुणशीलशाली । यं वीक्ष्य
 षट्कर्मरतं द्विजेश⁸⁹
 61. भृग्वादिषु प्रत्ययितो जनौघः ॥१७॥ श्यामायिका तस्य वभूव पत्नी पतिव्रता
 शीलगुणो(प) पत्ना । उग्रेन्दु-

⁸⁰ The original is क्षेत्रा

⁸¹ The original is राजनक

⁸² The original is मोदेश.

⁸³ The original is परी.

⁸⁴ The original is निवित्तो.

⁸⁵ The last two letters of the earlier plate are illegible. But as a part of the typical declaration of privileges, the word could be easily restored.

⁸⁶ The original is शासनिकृत्य.

⁸⁷ The original is पारासरो.

⁸⁸ The original is आग्न्याहित.

⁸⁹ The original is द्विजेश.

62. लेखेव विराजते या विशुद्धरूपा तमसो निहन्त्री⁹⁰ ॥१८॥ अस्यामभूच्छास्त्रविदां
धुरीणस्त्रस्तः⁹¹
63. सुतोवात् खलु वीरदत्तः । यं प्राप्य धर्माश्रयमुग्रवृद्धि कालः कलिन्यकृतवद्भूव ॥१९॥
संक्रान्तौ
64. विष्णु⁹² पद्याञ्च पञ्चविशाब्दराज्यके । तस्मै दत्ता मया पित्रोर्यशःपुण्या-
65. य चात्मनः⁹³ ॥२०॥ सीमा पूर्व्वेण बृहदाल्यां शालमलीवृक्षः । पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन रू-
66. पिण्णपाटी नौसीन्नि खरतटस्थशालमलीवृक्षः । दक्षिणेन तन्नौसीन्नि
67. वदरीवृक्षः । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन तन्नौ⁹⁴सीन्नि काशिम्वलवृक्षः । पश्चिमेन
68. खरतटस्थाश्वत्थ⁹⁵वृक्षः । पश्चिमग । उत्तरगवक्रेण क्षेत्रालि(ः) काशिम्व-
69. लावृक्षश्च । पश्चिमोत्तरेण क्षेत्राल्यां हिज्जलवृक्षः । पूर्व्वग । उत्तरग व-
70. क्रेण क्षेत्रालि । शालमलीवृक्षौ । पुनः पूर्व्वगदक्षिणगवक्रेण क्षेत्रालि । काशिम्वल-
वृक्षौ । कि-
71. चित् पूर्व्वग । दक्षिणग वक्रेण क्षेत्रालि । शालमलीवृक्षौ । उत्तरेण बृह⁹⁶दाल्यां
काशिम्वलवृ-
72. क्षः । उत्तरपूर्व्वेण बृहदाल्यां वेतसवृक्षश्चेति ॥

TRANSLATION

Let there be welfare (to all).

Let (Lord) Śaṅkara (the great dancer), who is, as it were, the spectator of the wealth of his own dancing art, as reflected in the (glossy) nails of his own, and at the same time is engaged in exhibiting the ceaseless motion of his auspicious tāṇḍava dance like some one seated on a horse of superior breed, and who, thus, like the supreme self assumes plurality while remaining essentially one, shines in the world with the help of his irresistible will (*prākāmya*), be the source of welfare for all. (v. 1).

Let the world be protected, after the destruction of all the sins, by the sea in the form of the river Lauhitya (i.e., the river Brahmaputra), regarding the current of the waters of which people may be pleased to conjecture as follows—"Is it the moonlight itself that flows here after

⁹⁰ The original is निहन्त्री.

⁹² The original is विष्णु.

⁹⁴ The original is तनौ.

⁹⁶ The original is बृहदाल्यां.

⁹¹ The original is स्त्रस्तः.

⁹³ The original is चात्मनः.

⁹⁵ The original is श्वथ.

assuming a physical form?" or "Is it a flow of melted crystals?" or "Is it the auspicious power of Lord Śaṅkara intently engaged in destroying the whole host of sins?" (v. 2).

Lord Hari, who, in the form of a boar, resqued the earth plunged in the waters of the universal deluge, had a son named Naraka, who was partially an *asura* and behaved like the moon in respect of the lotus-ponds in the form of the damsels of the heaven. (v. 3).

After completely defeating the gods, he (i.e., Naraka), however, spared (their mother) Aditi with the consideration that she is weak, old, frightened, perplexed and left alone by the relatives as a destitute, but stole away her ear-ornaments which were like the best fame and brilliance of the gods. (v. 4).

He (i.e., Naraka) resided in the best of the cities, Prāgjyotiṣa, which seemed to have many moons because of (the presence of) the faces of the beautiful damsels and seemed to have many suns due to (the presence of) the illustrious warriors; moving along with the glory of his arms in this city he (i.e., Naraka) earned the (royal) fortune in a more beautiful manner. (v. 5).

Lord Hari took him to the heaven as soon as he (i.e., Naraka) started to move about in the battle-field with a spirit of compunction with the idea, 'my father, though always full of spirited qualities has now become old'; it is strange that one who is intent on enlarging the extent of power never takes account of (blood) relationship. (v. 6).

After that, the burden of the earth came to be shouldered by his son named Bhagadatta; he was steady, dignified and possessor of a huge wealth; all the directions were covered by the silken canvas of his wide fame, and with the host of his qualities he made the whole world his admirer. (v. 7).

After the demise of his brother, mighty Vajradatta received the kingdom like fire receiving the glow after the setting of the sun. Like Indra, Vajradatta was a conquerer of his enemies and he had a lusture like that of the bolt. He earned fame by conquering the whole world with his enthusiasm and simplicity. (v. 8).

Thus, as a course of destiny, the kingdom, ruled by the kings of the family of Naraka in succession, has been occupied by Śālastambha, the lord of the *mlecchas*. In his (i.e., Śālastambha's) line also there were famous kings like Vighrahastambha numbering two times ten (i.e., twenty). (v. 9).

When the twentyfirst king of that line, named Tyāgasimha retired to heaven without an heir, his subjects, thinking 'once again a king of the Bhauma dynasty (i.e., of the family of Naraka) would be more suitable for us', nominated Śrī Brahmapāla, capable of shouldering the burden of the world, as the king, because of his relationship (with the family of Naraka). (v. 10).

"That Brahmapāla has defeated his enemies in the battle-field all alone is nothing strange, for, there is indeed the example of Hara (Śiva), Hari, Bhīṣma and many others (in this respect)"—thus thinking, when his soldiers observed him (i.e., Brahmapāla) and saw that he remained in his own place, and (yet) his enemies were fleeing away in eight directions, they (themselves) became astonished. (v. 11).

With a desire to enjoy the pleasures accruing out of wealth, he married a (certain) young lady, who out of affection for the subjects assumed the name Kuladevī, symbolising, as it were, the steady presence of the royal fortune belonging to the king of the Bhauma family. (v. 12).

From her was born a son named Śrī Ratnapāla. The subjects made him known with that auspicious name (i.e., the name Ratnapāla), as it were, because of knowing well that this king would protect, with his own qualities, the highly respectable persons who resemble the jewels (*ratnas*). (v. 13).

His (i.e., of Ratnapāla) battlefields (i.e., the battle-fields where he fought) shone like a market of jewels, having a plenty of *padmarāga* jewels, because of the *gajamuktās* (i.e., pearls supposed to be found inside the fore-head of elephants) being carried away by the force of the torrents of blood arising out of the breaking of the temples of the irresistible elephants of the enemies and because of being crowded by merchants in the form of the warriors. (v. 14).

Afterwards, the faultless hero (Brahmapāla) retired to the heaven after placing him, who was like a sun for the lotuses in the form of persons belonging to the family of Naraka, on throne; thus, the great persons who are aware of the merits and demerits of the world surely know what should be done in the respective appropriate occasions. (v. 15).

(King Ratnapāla) used to reside in the befittingly named city of Durjjayā, in the kingdom called Prāgjyotiṣa.⁹⁷ (line 40).

The heat of the city of Durjjayā was allayed by the shower of the drops of ichor flowing from the temples of the rows of the spirited elephants presented by the hundreds of kings defeated by the power of (the king's) arms entangled with the series of rays issuing from the sharp swords. (lines 28-30).

The city was fit for the residence of great men, although it was full of the forests of the trees in the form of the arms of the strong warriors, ever eager to plunder the cities of all the enemies. (line 30-31). Here the orb of the sun used to be covered from view by the tops of

⁹⁷ A long sentence covering lines 29 to 40 concludes with the clause *pragjyotiṣeṣu durjjayākhyam puramadhyuvāsa*, which is first translated here. The translation of the preceding adjective clauses, meant for describing the city of Durjjayā, follows this clause.

the thousands of white-washed mansions, as white as the smile of the intoxicated beautiful dames. (line 31-32). This city was the residence of hundreds of people devoted to enjoyment (*bhogin*) like the (sandal) trees, growing on the soil of the mount Malaya, which are infested by hundreds of snakes (*bhogins*). Like the sky embellished with (the planets) Būdhā, Guru (i.e. Brhaspati) and Kāvya (i.e., Śukra), this city was the place of poetical figures (*kāvyaśaṅkārās*) created (or discussed) by the learned men (*budhas*) and the preceptors (*gurus*). Like the peak of the mount Kailāśa, which was the abode of Parameśvara (i.e., Lord Śiva) this city was also the abode of Parameśvara (i.e., the king or the lord Śiva of the local temple) and like the peak of the mount Kailāśa, inhabited by the god Kuvera (i.e., Vitteśa), this city was also inhabited by rich men (i.e., *vitteśas*). (lines 30-34).

The outskirts of the city of Durjyāyā were covered by a rampart which was like a stout cage for the play-bird in the form of the king of Śakas, a fever for the king of Gurjjaras, a *Kūṭapākala* disease for the untamable elephant in the form of the king of Gauḍa, a bitumen (*śilājatu*) for the mountain in the form of the king of Kerala, a veritable source of fear for the kings of Bāhika and Tāyika, a pulmonary consumption for the kings of the Deccan; because of destroying the side of the enemies it (i.e., the rampart) was like a (white silken) cloth covering the door panel in the form of the chest of the king. (lines 34-36).

The city of Durjyāyā was beautified by the sea-like Lauhitya, which was the remover of the fatigue caused by erotic dalliances of the beautiful damsels, seated on the open tops of the palatial buildings, with the help of the particles of water, issuing out of the waves very lightly stirred by the beautiful breeze mingled with the cackling of the host of intoxicated female swans, which (i.e., the Lauhitya) was like the silken banner carried by the elephant in the form of mount Kailāśa, and which was like a bejeweled mirror of the damsels of the heaven, working as an aid to their preparation for amorous sport. (lines 36-39).

The city of Durjyāyā was the object of adoration for innumerable hosts of kings. (line 39).

In that city of Durjyāyā, there used to be *jaḍatā* (i.e., liquidness only in the (pearl-) necklaces but never any *jaḍatā* (i.e., dullness) in the sense organs; there used to be *cañcalatā* (i.e., fickleness) only amongst the monkeys but never any *cañcalatā* (i.e., fickleness) in the minds (of people); there used to be *bhaṅguratā* (i.e., fickleness) only in the play of brows but never any *bhaṅguratā* (i.e., undoing or breach of trust) in respect of deeds undertaken; there used to be *sopasargatā* (i.e., prefixing of *upasargas*) only in respect of the roots (i.e., *dhātus*) but never any *sopasargatā* (i.e., illness) in respect of the subjects; there used to be *vāmatā* (i.e., beauty) only in the damsels (and never any *vāmatā* or crookedness in respect of others); there used to be *skhalitam* (i.e., faltering of steps) only in case of the

beautiful women elated through the intoxication caused by wine (and never any *skhalita* or breach of conduct of the people in general); there used to be a sense of apathy (*niḥspṛhatā*) only towards the wrong-doers (and never towards ordinary fellow beings); there used to be desire for incessant *madhupāna* (i.e., sucking of honey) only in case of the swarms of bees (and *niratyayamadhupānāsakti* or interest in incessant drinking of wine was never to be seen in case of the ordinary citizens); there used to be excessive allegiance to the beloved only in case of the cakravāka birds (and never in case of the citizens) and there used to be taking of meat (*piśitāśitā*) only in case of the animals (and never in case of the citizens) (lines 40-43).

In that city (of Durjyā), which can vie with the abode of Vāsava (i.e., Indra) there resides with all well-being the *mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī Ratnapālavarmadeva*, ever devoted to the worship of the feet of *mahārājādhirāja Śrī Brahmapālavarmadeva*.⁹⁸ (lines 43-52).

(The king Ratnapāla), like the moon, that enlarges the volume of the waters of the sea in the shore, has enlarged the kings of the 'circle' who are like the sea in respect of never transgressing the shore in the form of the limits of good conduct. He has exhibited a stealing of the royal fortune that blooms in the form of lotuses in the lakes appearing in the form of enemies like the moon that causes loss of lustre of the lotuses in the lakes. Like the sun placing its rays on the top of the mountains, he has also placed his feet on the heads of the kings, and like the sun that leads the lotus-pond to bloom he is also desirous of illumining the very source of royal fortune. (lines 44-45). Even being the *paramēśvara* (i.e., a king) he is the promoter of joy of Kāmarūpa.⁹⁹ Even belonging to the family of Naraka he causes the pleasure of the enemy of demons (i.e., of god Viṣṇu or any god through his devotion and religious deeds). Even being the *Puruṣottama* (i.e., Lord Viṣṇu or 'the best amongst men') he is not the *janārdana* (i.e., Lord Viṣṇu or 'a tormentor of people'). Even being a *vīra* (i. e., a bold warrior or 'motionless') he moves like an intoxicated elephant. His beauty surpasses even that of the Cupid. In gravity he is even more than the sea. His valour is predictive of the conquest of the whole world. In energy he surpasses even (the god) Skanda. Moreover, he is an Arjuna in fame, a Bhīmasena in the battle field, the god Yama in anger, a forest-fire in respect of the grasses in form of the enemies, a moon in the sky of learning, a southern

⁹⁸ *tatra vāsavāvāśaspardhini* of line 43-44 and *mahārājādhirājaśrībrahmapālavarmadeva kuśali* of line 51-52 are together translated here. Now the translation of the adjective clauses, given as epithets of king Ratnapāla, from line 44 to 50 will follow.

⁹⁹ *Paramēśvara* also means Śiva. While Śiva was the destroyer of the form of Kāmadeva (i.e. *Kāmarūpa*) this king has been the source of joy for Kāmarūpa, the kingdom.

breeze in respect of the flowers in the form of the noblemen, a sun in respect of the darkness in the form of enemies, an *Udayācala* in respect of the wealth of the rising of the *mitra* (i.e., the sun or the friends or the ally) (lines 45-50).

With referenec to the plot of land, capable of yielding two thousand units of paddy, situated in the field of Lāvukuṭi, comprising also of a plot of land sliced off (*apakṛṣṭa*) from the *Mahādevapāṭaka*, and belonging to the viṣaya named Trayodaśagrāma of the North bank (of the river Brahmaputra), the king pays his compliments to the people of the countryside beginning with the brāhmaṇas, the Viṣayakaraṇa and the Vyāvaharika and others like Rājās, Rājñīs and Rāṇakas and also others like the Rājanyakas, Rājaputras and Rājavallabhas who are present now, and also to all those who will happen to be in future time in the respective positions, and makes this command : (lines 52-55).

Be it known to you that this land, along with its homesteads, paddy-fields, dry lands, ponds, grazing grounds, refuse lands, etc., lying as it is within its boundaries and freed from all troubles on account of the fastening of elephants, fastening of boats, searching for thieves, inflicting of punishment, tenant's taxes, duties due to different causes and grazing of animals such as elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep as recorded in this charter.¹ (lines 55-58).

There was a brāhmaṇa of the Pārāsara gotra named Devadatta, who was the foremost amongst the followers of the Kāṇva śākhā of the *Vājasaneyī saṁhitā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The trio of Vedas considered itself blessed, at it were, to have this best amongst the knowers of the Vedas. (v. 16).

He had a son named Sadgaṅgadatta, who was a performer of sacrifices and possessor of qualities and character. Seeing this best of brāhmaṇas, ever engaged in the six duties of a brāhmaṇa, people became convinced about (the stories relating to) Bhṛgu and others. (v. 17).

He had a wife named Śyāmāyikā accomplished with character and qualities and devoted to the husband. With her pure form she shone like a sharp digit of the moon, that destroys darkness. (v. 18).

From this (wife) was born a son named Viradatta, who was foremost amongst the knowers of the śāstras and afraid of sins; after finding this follower of virtues who possessed a sharp intellect, the Kali age became subdued, as it were. (v. 19).

On the auspicious moment of the Viṣṇupadī saṁkrānti, in the twentyfifth year of my reign, I donate (the aforesaid land) to him (i.e., to Viradatta) for the fame of my parents and my own merit. (v. 20).

The boundaries—To the east a silk-cotton tree on the high road. To the south-east a silk-cotton tree on the steep bank near the marine

¹ Connect this with verse 20 below.

boundary of the people of Rūṣigaṇapāta. To the south a plum tree situated at the same marine boundary. To the south west a Kāśimbala tree standing at the aforesaid marine boundary. To the west a banyan tree standing on a steep bank, a field-dividing lane running to the west and then to the north and also a Kāśimbala tree.

To the north-west a Hijjala tree standing on a field-dividing lane, a field-dividing lane running to the east and then to the north with a curve, then two silk-cotton trees, again a field-dividing lane running to the east and then to the south with a curve, then two Kāśimbala trees, and another field-dividing lane slightly running to the east and then to the south with a curve, then two other silk-cotton trees.

To the north a Kāśimbala tree on the high road.

And to the north-east a (bush of) cane trees on the high road.

(lines 65-72)

NOTES

General : This charter is one of the two grants of king Ratnapālavarma-deva, discovered up till now. This charter has been granted in the twentyfifth year of his reign. The second charter known as the Śuwālkuchi grant was granted in the twentysixth year of his reign. King Ratnapāla seems to have ruled for quite a long period of time and in all probability for not less than thirty years. The grants issued in the twentyfifth and the twentysixth years give an impression that the king must have been quite happy and healthy at that time. The literary portion of the Śuwālkuchi grant is similar to that of the Bargāon grant. The beauty and grandeur of this literary portion give us the genuine impression that during Ratnapāla's reign Kāmarūpa had a high standard of literary and scholarly activities, which must have been possible only in an atmosphere of peace and prosperity.

The literary portion consists of an indiscriminate admixture of prose and verse and is devoted to the description of the royal genealogy and the praise of the patron king. Thus this inscription presents us a piece of that variety of Kāvya-composition, called *Virud*, which is defined as follows :

gadyapadyamayī rājastutir virudamucyate (Sāhityadarpaṇa, ch. VI)

The composer of the text of the grant was a scholar of high order. His vocabulary was very rich as warranted by the abundance of puns. Coining of words according to some uncommon rules of grammar shows his mastery over grammar. Literary craftsmanship as exhibited by the high standard of prose gives us the idea that the poet must have been very intimately acquainted with the standard works of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and particularly Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

The other socio-cultural data which may be gathered from this inscription will be pointed out in course of the detailed notes.

Verse 1 : The verse is very rich in imagery. It gives us several ideas about the same deity Śaṁkara, within its limited scope. We find Śaṁkara as the source of welfare and prosperity (*Śrī*), as the supreme dancer (*naṭeśvara*) dancing the cosmic *tāṇḍava* dance, as the supreme *yogin* (*yogeśvara*) because of possessing *prākāmya*, and also as being similar to (and, in fact, identical with) the supreme self, because of appearing as many, while remaining essentially one. For the supreme self's potentiality to become many while remaining essentially one, involving the principal doctrine of Advaitavāda see our notes on verse 23 of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant of Bhāskaravarman. The expression '*pratīvimbakair-nakhagataih*' implies the Advaitic imagery of the essentially one being many only in images. The expression '*eko'pyanekibhavan*' is a categorical presentation of the Advaitavāda. For the whole tradition of Advaitavāda in Kāmarūpa, see Manoranjan Shastri's article 'Advaitavāda or Philosophy of Nondualism in Kāmarūpa' in the *Birinchi Kumar Barua Com. Volume* (p 116-126), ed. by Maheswar Neog and Mukunda Madhava Sharma.

Prākāmya is an irresistible will-power attained by *yogins* through yogic practices. It is one of such six superior powers called *aīśvaryas*, and inumerated in the following traditional verse :

*aṇimā laghimā vyāptih prākāmyaṁ mahimā tathā
īśitvañca vaśitvañca tathā kāmāvaśāyitā.
(vide, Śabdakalpadruma).*

Sauvaśvī—One who possesses or is seated on a *sauvaśva*. The word *sauvaśva* means a horse born of a couple of superior quality horses. The word is formed according to the Pāṇinian rule 7-3-3 and testifies the author's mastery of grammar.

Verse 2 : From the time of Vanamāla up to the time of Indrapāla, homage paid to the river Lauhitya has been a special feature of all the grants issued by Kāmarūpa kings. Because of the whiteness of the waters of Lauhitya there is the confusion with moonlight assuming a physical form, with melting crystals, and also with the powers of Śiva capable of destroying sin. Sin (*pāpa*) is believed to be black according to poetic convention (*kavisamaya*). Hence the divine power capable of destroying sin should obviously be white. There is a Sandeha alaṁkāra in the verse. In the third foot disjoin the *sandhi* as *yasya-apāṁ-gatim-iti-avetya*.

Verse 3 : There is a Rūpaka in *surayoṣidabjinī* and a Taddhitagā Upamā alamkāra in *induyitam*, which is formed with a *Kyaṇ pratyaya* according to Pāṇini 3-1-11. For the concept of Taddhitagā Upamā see *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, X-19.

Verse 4 : The allusion to Naraka's stealing away the ear-rings of Aditi is found also in the Dubi c.p. of Bhāskāravarman and in the grants of Vanamāla and Balavarman. For the legendary sources see Introduction.

Verse 5 : Disjoin *bahuvīdhāviva* as *bahuvīdhau-iva*, where *bahuvīdhau* in locative is adj. to *prāggyotise*. This verse contains two Utprekṣā alamkāras.

Verse 6 : The word *ātītāmsoḥ*, adj. to *nuḥ* (of *nuriha*) is to be derived as *ā*—root *tan*+*san*+*u*+6th case-ending; while *nuḥ* is derived as *nṛ* (=man)+6th case-ending. There is an Arthāntaranyāsa alamkāra in this verse. The construction of this verse seems to be a bit laboured.

Verse 7 : It has an Anuprāsa alamkāra.

Verse 8 : It is a very nice verse; it is rich in Anuprāsa and contains Ojaḥ guṇa because of the reduplications of *j* with preceding *rephas* and because of other forceful syllables. The quality of *ojaḥ* is so suitable to the description of *balavān* Vajradatta !

Verse 9 : This is another instance of laboured verse-making.

Verse 10 : The *hi* of the last foot seems to be there only for the sake of metre. Such an use of *nipāta* is undesirable. cf. Vāmana's *Kavyāalamkārasūtravṛtti* (2-1-9). *Sāgandhyāt* is derived from the word *sagandha*. cf. *cātakaste sagandhaḥ* (*Meghadūta*). For the various implications of the word *prakṛtayaḥ* see Introduction.

Verse 11 : It is another instance of a forced verse-making. The idea is very complex.

Verse 12 : The name of the queen was Kuladevī, literally meaning 'goddess of the family'. Hence, the queen is supposed to be an embodiment of the presence of the goddess of fortune of the family. Here we have an Utprekṣā alamkāra.

Verse 13 : *tena sakīrtanena* : With that auspicious name, *kīrtana*=name, *samyak kīrtanam*=*sakīrtanam*. But the use of the word *kīrtana* in the sense of a name is rare.

Verse 14 : Disjoin as *kumbhabhid-ābhava- asra - srotovaha - āhati*, etc. *āhati*=striking. cf. *prabhātavātāhati- kampitākṛti*, (*Bhaṭṭikāvya*, 2-6). *muktā+kan=mauktika*. *Pāḍmarāga=padmarāga* + suffix *an* in the sense of plenty.

Verse 15 : *akalaṁkagaṇḍa-* a faultless hero. *gaṇḍa*=hero or cheek. Hence the expression *akalaṁkagaṇḍa* may also mean one who had a spotless cheek, presumably implying thereby that the visage of the old king was yet free from any mark of old age. *samvidrate=ātmanepaḍī* root *sam- vid* (*adādi akarmaka*) in 3rd person plural of the present tense. Its alternative form is *saṁvidate*. There is an *Arthāntaranyāsa* *alaṁkāra* in this verse.

Line 30-31 : In "*subhaṭa nivāsayogyam*" we have a *Virodhābhāsa* *alaṁkāra*, as we often have in the descriptions of cities given by *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*.

Line 31-32 : *Samadasundarī taraṇimaṇḍala* : Here we have an *Udāta* *alaṁkāra* (i.e., the first variety of *Udāta*) as defined in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, X-94.

Line 32-33 : We have pun in the words *bhogī* (snake, man of enjoyment), *vitteśa* (lord Kuvera, man of wealth), *parameśvara* (king or Śiva) and *budha-guru-kāvyālaṁkāra*, where *budha*=the planet or a learned man, *guru*=the planet *Brhaspati* or a preceptor, *kāvyālaṁkāra*=poetical figures or *kāvya* or the planet *Śukra* and *alaṁkāra* or an embellishment or ornament in general. In the clauses, containing these *śliṣṭa* words, we have a *Pūrṇopamā* *alaṁkāra* based on *śleṣa*, as we have in plenty in the descriptions of cities given by *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*.

Lines 34-36 : The clauses ending in the third case-ending are adjective to *prākāreṇa* in line 36. In all these clauses we have either *Rūpaka* or *Paramparita Rūpaka* *alaṁkāras*. It may be suggested that this description of the boundary wall of the royal city does not necessarily mean that kings of Śakas, Gurjjaras, Gauḍas, and Keralas etc. came and had some abortive confrontations outside this wall. Rather, it appears to suggest that the kings of all the various countries mentioned here heard about the invincibility of this city and cherished a respectful fear for this seat of royal power.

Kūṭapākala— It is one of the ten varieties of *Pākala* of elephants, discussed in the eighth chapter of the *Hastyāyurveda*, Book I

(Mahārogasthāna). Regarding Pākala in general Pālakāpya says :

पाकलाञ् शृणु मे राजन् सनिहक्तान् ससंभवान् ।
रुद्रस्य क्रोधजो ह्येष नामभिर्वहुभिर्ज्वरः ॥
अन्तकः सर्वभूतानां क्षयं नयति दाहणः ।

(I. VIII. 3-4a). The Śuddhapākala and the Kūṭapākala are the most fatal of the ten varieties of Pākala cf.

इत्येते नृपवर पाकला दशोक्ता भेषज्यैः सह सनिदानसंभवास्ते ॥

तत्र द्वौ परमसुदाहणावसाध्यौ यः शुद्धो भवति हि कूटपाकलश्च ॥

(concluding verses in *Hastyāyurveda*, I. VIII.). Cf. *Mālatīmādhava* I. 39 for this word. Nilakaṇṭha in *Mātāṅgalīlā* refers to *Pākalajvara*, and observes that it has symptoms similar to those of a fever (*jvara*) of human beings. Cf.

पाकलाख्यज्वरं मर्त्यज्वरोक्तैरेव लक्षणैः ।

लक्ष्येन्मतिमांस्तस्मात् तदेव च चिकित्सितम् ॥ (११-५०)

(*Mātāṅgalīlā* of Nilakaṇṭha, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1910).

Silājatu—Bitumen or red chalk. This mineral belonging to the body of mountains melt and flow like sweat and hence *Silājatu* means sweating of the mountain. The *prākāra* is a *śilājatu* in so far as it causes the *keraleśa acala* to sweat with fatigue or fear. The imagery in *kṣitipavakṣaḥkapāṭapaṭeneva* is not clear to me.

Vāhika—the *Vāhikas* or *Bāhikas* are generally supposed to be the people of Punjab. See MM. P. V. Kane's notes under the example 'gaurvāhikah' in *Sahityadarpaṇa* II. In the *Mahābhārata*, *Vāhikas* are distinctly mentioned as belonging to the Punjab region :

pañcānām sindhuṣaṣṭhānām nadīnām ye'ntarāśritāḥ
tān dharmavāhyānaśucīn vāhikān parivarjjayet

(*Karṇaparvan*, 44-7).

Tāyika—The *Tāyikas* also belonged to the same northern region of India. In Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (*Bhūmikāṇḍa*) the *Tāyikas* are mentioned along with the people of Jālandhara, Trigarta and Kāśhmīra, etc. cf.

jālandharā strigartāḥ syustāyikāstarjikābhidhāḥ
kāśmīrāstu mādhumatāḥ sārāsvatā vikarṇikāḥ (v. 24)

Lines 36 to 39 give us a beautiful description of the river Brahmaputra, though it is less gorgeous than that given in the grants of Vanamāla.

Lines 40-41 : From *jaḍatā* up to *na prajāsu* we have four *śābdī* *Parisamkhyā* *alamkāras*. (vide *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, X-81) The meaning of *jaḍatā* is given by P. N. Bhattacharyya as *śitalatā*. (*Kṣ*, p.105, n). But the word *jaḍam* may mean water also (See *Apte* and *Sabdasāra*). Hence *jaḍatā* may mean liquidness also. In *Kādambarī* in the context of the description of Ujjayinī we have “*yasyañca ... taralatā hūralatānam ...*”. There also *taralatā* may mean liquidness. The liquidness (*taralatvam*) is because of the fluidlike glossy lusture that is seen over the surface of a pearl. cf.

मुक्ताफलेषु छायायास्तरलत्वमिवान्तरा ।

प्रतिभाति यदङ्गेषु तद्भाषण्यमिहोच्यते ॥ (*Śabdakalpadruma*)

Lines 41-43 : From *vāmatā* up to *śvāpadeṣu* we have six *ārthī* *Parisamkhyā* *alamkāras*. These *alamkāras* are as admirably delineated as in the works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. The clause, *atyantam priya-nuvartanam* tends to suggest that the people used to enjoy a lot of liberty in respect of love-making. The clause, *piṣṭiāśitā śvāpadeṣu* tends to carry this socio-cultural datum that the people in ancient Kāmarūpa, unlike the present population of Assam, were vegetarian in food habit.

Lines 43-45 : In *vāsavāvāśaspardhini* there is a *Vyatireka* *alamkāra*. The idea contained in ‘*vidhuriva maṇḍalaḥ*’ appears to be cumbrous. The sea is generally supposed to have great restraint in respect of never transgressing the limits of its shore. But here we have the idea of a sea swelling and overflowing the shore (*velā*). *Jaladhi maṇḍala*=the (circular) region of the sea. *Maṇḍala*=the circle of a king’s near and distant neighbours. In all the clauses of lines 43-45 we have *Pūrṇopamā* *alamkāra* based on *Śleṣa*.

Lines 45-47 : *Parameśvara* *Śiva* destroyed the form of *Kāmadeva*, whereas *Parameśvara*, the patron king of Kāmarūpa has been the source of pleasure of the whole of Kāmarūpa. As explained by P. N. Bhattacharyya, the word *vīra* (*vīgataḥ īraḥ yasya*) also means one who is without any motion. But the word *īra*, which might be derived from the *adādi* root *īr*, to move, is very rare, and the word *vīra* in the present sense seems to be coined by the author of the inscription himself. From *parameśvaropi* up to *mattebhagāmī* we have four *Virodhābhāsa* *alamkāras*.

Lines 48-50 : There is either *Rūpaka* or *Paramparita Rūpaka* in each of the clauses upto *mitrodgamasampadi*.

Lines 52-58 : This portion is almost similar to the corresponding portion

of the grants of Balavarman and hence see the notes under the said grants.

Verse 17 : Ṣaṭkarma—The six acts or duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa. In *Manusamhitā*. X. 75. They are enumerated as follows—
adhyāpanam adhyayanam yājanam yajanam tathā
dānam pratigrahaścaiva ṣaṭ karmānyagrajanmanah

Verse 20 : Saṁkrāntau viṣṇupadyām. There are four viṣṇupadi-saṁkrāntis viz. those of the months of Jyaiṣṭha, Bhādra, Agraḥāyana and Phālguna. So, the passage of the sun from one zodiacal sign into another as occurring in any of these months may be meant. But P. N. Bhattacharyya suggests that it should have been in either Phālguna or Jyaiṣṭha because of these two viṣṇupadi-saṁkrāntis being more suitable for making gifts. To us it appears that since transactions relating to land are usually done in the winter, the present gift was more probably done in the month of Phālguna, before the beginning of the rainy season.

No. 14. THE SUWĀLKUCHI COPPER PLATE GRANT
OF RATNAPĀLA

(c. 1036 A.D.)²

References : Hoernle, *JASB*. LXVII. pp. 113-32; P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 116-29; *Raṅgur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Nos. 2 and 4, 1319 sāl.

Place and history : This grant of Ratnapāla has been discovered in the village Suwalkuchi of district Kamrup; but the details as to how and by whom it has been discovered are not known. Sir E. Gait sent this grant to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in May 1896, and Hoernle for the first time edited and published it in the *JASB* in the following year. Like the Bargāon grant this inscription also might have been returned back to the original discoverer after being read by Hoernle. Our efforts to learn the present whereabouts of this inscription have not yet yielded any result.

Description : This grant also consisted of three plates in the manner of the Bargāon grant and also contained a seal similar to that of the earlier grant. The plates measuring 12" × 8½" are slightly larger than those of the earlier grant. Hence, in this grant the same text is given in lesser number of lines, and the whole text covers lesser space of the four inscribed pages leaving more than half of the last inscribed page vacant.

The first of the three plates of the Suwālkuchi grant is lost. The first page of the middle plate having remained exposed for long presents a very badly erased inscription. But the literary portion of this grant is common to that of the earlier grant and hence the loss of the first page need not be regretted. In the second page of the middle plate of this grant we have a portion of the text ending in श्रीमान् रत्नपालवर्मदेवः कुशली

² This grant was issued in the 26th year of Ratnapāla's reign, while the Bargāon grant was issued in the 25th year. We may thus place this grant in C. 1036 A.D. as we have placed the earlier grant in C. 1035 A.D. At p. 209 of the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* P. N. Bhattacharyya, however, gives certain very convincing reasons to read the date of issue as the 36th regnal year. If we accept that position then this date should be revised as C. 1046 A.D.

which is similar to the text of the Bargāon grant³ ending in the 52nd line of the second page of the middle plate. Hence, this portion of the text is not reproduced here. It is followed by a reference to the location of the donated land, as follows : कलङ्गाविषयान्तःपातिधान्यत्रिसहस्रोत्पत्तिकापकृष्ट...भूमौ Three letters preceding the word भूमौ are not readable. There was the name of the particular plot of land from which the donated plot of land capable of producing three thousand units of paddy seems to have been sliced off (*apakṛṣṭa*). The donated land belonged to the Kalāṅgā viṣaya. After this reference to the plot of land we have the typical *anuśāsana-vākya* common to both the grants, reading : यथायथं समुपस्थितः शासनीकृत्य (covering lines 53 to 58 in the Bargāon grant). After this we have five verses and 7 lines in prose. Only this portoin, not common to the Bargāon grant, is reproduced here, as emended by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

The legend given in the seal of the Suwālkuchi grant is slightly different from that of the Bargāon grant. The legend reads as follows in three lines.

६ स्वस्ति प्राग्व्योतिषाधिपत्यन्व-
यो महाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्न-
पालवर्मदेवः ।

With this grant king Ratnapāla donated a plot of land, capable of yielding 3000 (three thousand) units of paddy to a brāhmaṇa named Kāmadvabhātta.

Language, script and orthography : Regarding these points all that is said about the Bargāon grant is generally applicable to this grant also. In this grant the hand-writing (of the engaver) is less beautiful. The inscription as a whole does not present a very comfortable reading.

Metres : VV. 1-5 same as in the Bargāon grant.

VV. 16-18, Āryā. (There is some metrical flaw in the 17th verse as pointed out by P. N. Bhattacharyya in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 112 and in the 18th verse we have Gīti variety of Āryā).

V. 19. Vasantatilakā

V. 20 Anuṣṭubh (Pathyāvakra)

³ There are some minor differences, particularly in respect of the omissions and commissions. For example, the word बाहिक (vide line 35 of the Bargāon grant) is not followed by the word ताइक in the Suwālkuchi grant. The word राजयक्ष्मणा (vide line 35 of the Bargāon grant) is given as जक्ष्मणा in the Suwālkuchi grant. The clause अज्जुनो यशसि (vide, line 48 of the Bargāon grant) is followed by yet another clause भोष्मो धनुषि only in the Suwālkuchi grant.

TEXT

(Only of the portion not common to the Bargāon grant.⁴)

Middle Plate : Reverse

- 53.⁵ भारद्वाजसगोत्रो वाजसनेयश्च काण्वशाखोभूत् ।
भट्टो बलदेव इति ख्यात-
54. श्रुतविनयसम्पन्नः ॥ १६ ॥ आसीत् प्रतिहतनरको बहुविबुधवन्द्यमानचरणयुग्मः ।
प्रविकसितकमलनयन-
55. स्तत् पुत्रो वासुदेवाख्यः ॥ १७ ॥ लक्ष्मीरिव जनसेव्या भार्यासीदस्य बल्लभा साध्वी ।
च्छेपायिकेति विदिता सद्धर्मा व-
56. ण्णभूषणा रम्या ॥ १८ ॥ ताम्यामजायत सुतो भुवि कामदेवः शक्त्या मनोरमतया
जितकामदेहः । कीर्तिः
57. समस्तभुवनं हि शशाङ्कशुभ्रा यस्यानिशम्भमति भूरिविभूषितयौ ॥ १९ ॥ पित्रोः
स्वपुण्यमुद्दिश्य कीर्तेश्च सम-

Third Plate : Inner Side

58. वासये । मया दत्ता द्विजायास्मै राज्ये षड्विंशद्विदिके⁶ ॥ २० ॥ अस्यास्सीमा
पूर्व्वेण चन्देनौकिन⁷ -
59. सहस्रीन्नि इष्टकेन्द्रस्योपरि शर्करामूल । खोडाग्र⁸वृक्षो । पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन दक्ष-
पाटीनौकिस-
60. हसीन्नि वेतसवृक्षः । दक्षिणेन सघवनौकीसहस्रीन्नि हिजलवृक्षः । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन
भद्राक्ष (ना)-

⁴ The clause referring to the location and magnitude of the land, which is also not common, is not presented here, as it is already given in the introductory notes above.

⁵ In the first page of the middle plate there are 19 lines giving what is given by 21 lines of the Bargāon grant. The text now lost to us covers 22 lines of the Bargāon grant. Hence it is presumed that the lost first plate contained 19 lines and accordingly this should be the 53rd line.

⁶ In an additional note at p. 209 of the *Kāmarūpaśāṇāvalī*, P. N. Bhattacharyya suggests that it is actually a scribal error for षट्त्रिंशद्विदिके.

⁷ The original is नौकीन.

⁸ The original is खोडाग्र.

61. ⁹मवृक्षः । पश्चिमेन चन्देनौकि¹⁰सह सीम्नि भधुनारोपितशालमलवृक्षः । पश्चिमो-
त्तरेण कलङ्गा-
62. दण्डिदक्षिणपाटः । पूर्वगवक्रेण सधवकलङ्गादण्डिदक्षिणपाटस्थचोरकवृक्षः दक्षिणवक्रे-
63. ण कुलसोन्तोत्तरपाटः । पूर्वगवक्रेण सधवकुलसोन्तोत्तरपाटस्थवरुणवृक्षः । उत्तरग-
वक्रेण हिज्ज-
64. ल वृक्षः । उत्तरेण दियम्बारजोलोत्तरपाटः । उत्तरपूर्वेणालिमस्तकस्थवेतसवृक्षश्चेति ॥

TRANSLATION

There was a certain brahmin scholar named (Bhaṭṭa) Valadeva ; he was polite and well-versed in the Vedic lore, belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, and was a follower of the *Vājasaneyī (sāmhita)* of the Kāṇvaśākhā. (verse 16)

He had a son named Vasudeva, who averted the *naraka* (i.e., the hell) ; his feet used to be worshipped by numerous scholars and his eyes were like blooming lotuses. (verse 17)

He had a celebrated, dear, pious wife named Ccheppāyikā ; like (the goddess) Lakṣmī she was adorable to the people ; she had been keenly attached to the virtues of a devoted wife ; she was beautiful and embellished with (a bright) complexion. (verse 18).

Their (i.e., of the couple) son, named Kāmadeva, took birth on earth ; he (i.e., Kāmadeva) surpassed the person of Kāmadeva (i.e., Cupid) in strength and beauty. His fame, as white as the moon, largely embellishes the sky and constantly moves over the earth. (verse 19).

To this brāhmaṇa, I donate (the aforesaid land by virtue of this charter) in the twenty-sixth year of my reign for the merit of my parents and of mine, and for gaining fame (verse 20).

The boundaries of this (land) are as follows :

To the east a *sarkkarāmūla* tree and a mango tree with a bent situated on a brick-field on the common boundary of Candenaūkī. To the south-east (a cluster of) cane tree on the boundary common to Dakṣapātinaūkī. To the south a *hijjala* tree on the boundary common to Sadhavanaukī. To the south west a tree known as *bhadrākṣa*. To the west the silk-cotton tree, recently planted on the boundary common to Candenaūkī. To the north-west the southern part of (the land of) Kalaṅgādaṇḍī, a *coraka* tree on the southern part of (the lands of) Sadhava and Kalaṅgādaṇḍī at the end of an eastward curve, then the northern part (of the land) of Kulasonta at the end of a southward curve ; again a *varuṇa*

⁹ Some four letters up to म are very hazy.

¹⁰ The original is की.

tree situated at the northern part of Sadhava and Kulasonta along an eastward curve, and a *hijjala* tree along a northward curve.

To the north the northern bank of Diyambārajola, and to the north-east a cane tree at the end of a plot-dividing lane. (Here) ends (the grant).

NOTES

Kalaṅgāviṣaya : The term *Viṣaya* means a district. The exact expanse of territory covered by the term, however, cannot be ascertained from the epigraphs. The *viṣaya* surely consisted of a number of villages, as villages are often said to belong to a *viṣaya*. The locality which was known as *Kalaṅgā viṣaya* could not be identified.

Verse 17 : There is pun in the words *pratihatānaraka*, *pravikasitakamalanayana* and *vāsudeva*. The word *vāsudeva* means the son of Bhaṭṭa Baladeva and also god Kṛṣṇa. With the son of Baladeva, *pratihatānaraka* means one who has averted the hell (by virtue of piousness), and *pravikasitakamalanayana* means one whose eyes look like blooming lotuses. With god Kṛṣṇa, *pratihatānaraka* means one who killed king Naraka of Kāmarūpa, and *pravikasitakamalanayana* means *Puṇḍarikākṣha*, another name of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

This verse is a very nice example of *śabdaśaktimūla*—Dhvani because of giving an idea of similarity between the Brāhmin Vāsudeva and Lord Kṛṣṇa with the help of certain *śliṣṭa* words. For details of this variety of Dhvani see Mukunda Madhava Sharma, *The Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 95-101.

Verse 18 : While the brāhmin Vāsudeva is compared to Lord Kṛṣṇa in the earlier verse, his wife Ccheppāyikā is compared to goddess Lakṣmī (the consort of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa) in a befitting manner.

Verse 20 : P. N. Bhattacharyya at p. 112 of the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* reads *śadvimśadabdike*. This is grammatically incorrect. But at pp. 209-210 the reading is revised as *ṣattrimśadabdike* on the strength of some more dependable data.

Line 58-59 : Disjoin *candenaukinaḥ + sahasīmni*. The whole area, where the donated land is situated seems to be full of rivers. Most of the inhabitants seem to be boatmen. The term *naukin*, (as it occurs in the name Candenaūkī) seems to mean a boatman (The meaning of the word *naukā* being a boat).

sahasīmni Most probably this term means a common boundary.

iṣṭakendra—This term seems to mean a brick-field, where very often heaps of third class bricks are left as waste so as to allow trees to grow on them. The reading *iṣṭakendra*, though accepted by P.N. Bhattacharyya, seems to be incorrect. The use of the word *iṣṭa* in the sense of a brick is doubtful. Hence, in my opinion the intended reading was most probably *iṣṭakakendra* or *iṣṭakākendra*, the omission being due to the inadvertence of the scribe. The word *indrā* (or *endrā*) in the sense of a well is still used in the local dialect of the Kamrup district of Assam. As such there is a remote possibility of the word *iṣṭakendra*, as it is, meaning a brick-well. An old brick-well might have allowed a bush of 'sarkkarā-mūla' (a willow-like shrubb) to grow on its swallow bed. But the 'khoḍāmbra' tree (a mango tree with a bent) is also said to be on the same *iṣṭakendra*. Hence the word cannot mean a brick-well. *khodāmbra* (= *khodāmra*) should literally mean a crippled mango tree. It has been called so presumably because of having a bent like a lame man.

śarkkarāmūla—It is some sort of a tree having a sweet root.

Line 62 : The word *pāṭa* may mean either 'a part' or 'bank'. But since *kalaṅgādaṇḍī* seems to be the name of a person, we have taken the word to mean a part here. Just as the term *naukī* is supposed to mean boat-man, the term *daṇḍī* also may be supposed to mean some one connected with the rowing of boats.

diyambārajola—The word *jola* (sometimes found also as *joli*) means a canal or a very small river. Even now this word is found in some place-names as in Dhekiyājuli (a town of the Darrang district). This term is found also in the second grant of Indrapāla and all the grants of Dharmapāla. The Assamese word *mājuli* (a river island) also seems to contain the word *joli* in the sense of a stream. (*madhya + joli*) = *mājuli*

Cf. the term *jolaka* in the Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva (lines 42f : *daḥṣiṇena jolaka*.)

No. 15 THE GAUHATI COPPER PLATE GRANT
OF INDRAPĀLA

(c. 1058 A.D.)¹¹

References—Hoernle, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXVI, No. 1, (1897), pp. 113-32; P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 116-129, *Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, No. 2 and No. 4 of 1319 sāl.

Place and history—A cultivator named Tanuram found three copper plates bound together in a ring attached to a laddle-shaped seal while levelling the earth of a mound in the village Barpānārā of the Pātidarrang Mauja of the Gauhati subdivision of the Kamrup district sometime around 1863. From Tanuram the plates came to the hands of his relative Dhairyanath Mandal, with whom the plates were lying for some thirty years until they were discovered by Sir Edward Gait, who sent the same to Dr. Hoernle in September 1893. Dr. Hoernle edited the text and published the same in *JASB*,

Description—Each of the three plates measure 10" (approx) × 6". The inner side of the first plate contains 14 lines, the first and the second pages of the middle plate contain 15 lines each and the inner page of the third plate, (which is the last page of the grant) contains only 9 lines.

From the days of Balavarman we see an uniformity in respect of the length of the contents of the plates and also in respect of the script. The seal attached to the Gauhati Grant of Indrapāla contains the following three lines—

स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिम-
हाराजाधिराजश्रीम-
दिन्द्रपालवर्मदेवः ।

Indrapāla was the grandson and immediate successor of Ratnapāla. According to Hoernle, Ratnapāla was in the throne from 1010 A.D. to 1050 A.D. and accordingly Indrapāla must have come to the throne in c. 1050 A.D., and this grant, recorded to have been issued in the 8th year of his

¹¹ Hoernle fixes Ratnapāla's age to be from 1010 to 1050 A.D. Accordingly Indrapāla came to the throne in 1050 A.D. This grant was issued in the eighth year of his reign.

reign, was issued in c. 1058 A.D. With this grant Indrapāla donated a plot of land capable of yielding 4000 units of paddy, located in Hapyomā Viṣaya of the north bank of the Brahmaputra to a brāhmin named Deshapāla.

Language, script and orthography—The language of the grant is Sanskrit.

There are 24 verses and prose passages devoted to the description of the boundaries of the donated land and to other typical items like the *anuśāsana vākya*, describing the privileges attached to the land. The script is similar to that of the grants of Balavarman and Ratnapāla. The inscription was badly damaged in places and contained many scribal errors. The text published by Hoernle contained a lot of mistakes. But happily the other available grant of Indrapāla, viz. the Guwākuchi grant was discovered in 1925. The text up to line 41 of this grant is almost common to the text of the Gauhati grant up to line 40. Hence it has become easier to improve upon this common text with the help of each other of the two grants.

Regarding orthography the following points are noteworthy : (i) There is no difference between **ब** and **व** as in the other inscriptions of this anthology. (ii) There are two forms of the **अनुस्वार** ; one is a **बिन्दु** over the letter concerned and the other is something like the **अनुस्वार** of the mod. Assamese/Bengali script, with the lower dash in the form of the lower part of a **हसन्तत**. (iii) The final *m* is given not as **म्** but as an **अनुस्वार**. In place of an **अनुस्वार**, **न्** is given when it is followed by **स**, and **म्** is given when it is followed by **व**. (iv) Apart from many cases of omission and commission we have some instances of **ī** for *i* as in lines 1 and 2. Sometimes **य** is given for **ज** and **श**, **ष** and **स** are used indiscriminately, e.g., **शकल** for **सकल** (line 31), **काषीपाटक** for **कासीपाटक** line (49) and **दुस्कर** for **दुष्कर** (line 44). This implies that as in the present day Assamese language, no distinction was made in respect of the pronunciations of **य** and **ज** and of **श**, **ष** and **स**, in this region, in those days also. (v) The word **पुष्करिणी** (line 52) for **पुष्करिणी** is decidedly an instance of Prakritism.

Metres—V.V. 1, 9, 10, Śārdḍulavikrīḍita ; V. 2, Puṣpitaḡrā ; VV. 3-8, 17-18, Vasantatilakā ; VV. 11, 12, 19, Āryā (Jāti) ; V. 13, Rathoddhatā ; VV. 14, 16, Upajāti (Indravajrā and Upendravajrā) ; V. 15, Sragddharā ; VV. 20-23, Anuṣṭubh (Pathyāvakra) ; V. 24, Anuṣṭubh (Vipulavakra).

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. ९ स्वस्ति । खट्वाङ्ग() परशुवृषः शशिकलेयादी¹² त्वदीयं मया सर्वस्वं
जितमद्य नाम कि(त)व
2. प्रत्यर्पितं¹³ ते पुनः(।) प्रेत्या केवलमस्तु मे जलवहा गङ्गेति गौरीगिरा
शम्भोर्द्युतक-
3. लाजितस्य जयति घ्रीडाविनम्रं शिरः ॥१॥ जयति पशुपतिः प्रजाधिनाथो
महितवपुर्मर्माह-
4. मा महावराहः । इयमपि भगदत्तवन्स¹⁴माता धरणीर(न)न्तनराधिपप्रतिष्ठा ॥२॥
यद्वा रिरामपर-
5. शोर्नृपकण्ठकाण्डलावस्य धौतघनलोहितपङ्कमासीत् । लौहित्य इत्यधिपतिः सरितां
6. स एष ब्रह्माङ्गभूर्नुदतु वः कलिकलमष(।)णि ॥३॥ वलगतुखुरधुभितभीम-
भुजङ्गसन्ना कल्पा-
7. वसानदिनभिन्नसमुद्रभुद्रां¹⁵ । पातालपङ्कपटलोदरसन्निहीनां क्रोडा-
8. कृतिर्व्वसु(म)तीं हरिरुजहार ॥४॥ दंष्ट्राङ्कुरोद्धूतधरापरिरम्भगर्भसंभोगसम्भू-
9. तरसालसमानसस्य । तस्यात्मजो नरपतिर्नरकाभिधानः श्रीमानभूद्भुवनव-
10. न्दितपादमुद्रः¹⁶ ॥५॥ रत्नप्रभारुचिरमास्पदमेव लक्ष्म्याः¹⁷ पुण्योपकण्ठविलसद्भू-
(माल) भारि ।
11. प्रागज्योतिषं पुरमपारयशाः स (उ)च्चैर्व्वक्षःस्थलम्पितुरिवापरमध्युवास ॥६॥
तस्यापि
12. सूनुरभवद्गदत्तनामा विश्रामभूमिरखिलस्य पितुर्गुणस्य । सत्त्वो¹⁸द्धतः सतत-
13. मूनवले वलीयान् यः पक्षपातमकरोत् क्षतवैर¹⁹पक्ष(:) ॥७॥ भौमान्वयोन्नतिपदप्र-
14. धितप्रतिष्ठः पृथ्वीभुजां विजयिनां धुरि वज्रदत्तः । दोर्व्वब्रवीर्य्य²⁰परितो-

¹² Read दि. In the Guwākuchi grant also the reading is दी.

¹³ Original प्रत्यर्पीतं. ¹⁴ Read वंश.

¹⁵ The *anusvāra* here is almost similar to that of the mod. As/Beng. script.

¹⁶ Original मूद्रः. ¹⁷ Original लक्ष्माः.

¹⁸ Original सत्त्वोद्धतः. ¹⁹ In the Guwākuchi grant the reading is वैरिपक्षः.

²⁰ Original वीज्ज.

Second Plate : Obverse

15. षित²¹वज्रपाणिरासीदमु²²व्य मुषितारियशा²³स्तनू²⁴जः ॥८॥ अस्मिन्ने²⁵व
नृपान्वये नरपतिः श्रीव्रह्म-
16. पालोभवत् त(स्या)त्मा भुवि रत्नपाल इति च ख्यातः क्षतारिव्वशी²⁶ ।
अस्यानर्घगुणाकरस्य महिमा रा-
17. ज्ञस्तु कीम्वर्ण्य²⁷ते यः श्लाघ्यैरतिदिश्यते सुचरितैः रामस्य कृष्णस्य वा ॥९॥
सम्वाधा²⁸ वसुधा सु-
18. धाधवलितैः शम्भुप्रतिष्ठास्पदैर्यस्य श्रोत्रियमन्दिराणि विभवैर्ज्ञानाप्रकारैरपि । यूपैर्यज्ञ-
19. गृहाङ्गणानि हविषां धूमैर्नभोमण्डलं यात्रारेणुभिरर्णवाम्भुविजयस्तम्भैश्च सव्वा²⁹
दिशः ॥१०॥ आ-
20. सीदुदारकीर्त्तिदाता भोक्ता शुचिः कलाकुशलः । तस्य पुरन्दरपालः सूनुः शूरश्च
सुकवि-³⁰
21. श्र ॥११॥ कृतमतिकौतुकमसकृन्मृगायारसिकेन येन समरेपि । क्षणविरचित-
22. शरपञ्जरवद्धे रिपुराजशादूलैः ॥१२॥ जामदग्न्यभुजविक्रमाजितप्राज्यरज्यन्-
23. पवंशसम्भवां दुर्लभेति स तु लोकदुर्लभां प्राप्य सम्यगभवत्³¹ कलत्रवा-
24. नू³² ॥१३॥ सचीव शक्रस्य शि(वे)व शम्भोः रति(ः) स्मरस्येव हरेरिव श्रीः ।
सा रोहिणीव क्षणदाकरस्य
25. तस्यानुरूपप्रणया वभूव ॥१४॥ देवः प्राचीप्रदीप(ः) प्रकटवद्युमतीमण्डनः
खण्डितारि-
26. जातस्ताभ्या(ः) जितात्मा नयविन(य)वतामग्रणीरिन्द्रपालः । यस्मिन्
सिंहासनस्थे स्वयमवनिभृ-
27. तां वद्धसेवाञ्जलीनामावज्जन्मौलिरत्नैः फलितमिव(स) भाकुट्टिमं कीर्त्यमाणैः ॥१५॥
सुवि-
28. स्तृतानां पदवाक्यतर्कतन्त्रप्रवाहातितरस्विनीनां । यः सर्वविद्यासरितामगाधमन्तर्निम-

²¹ Original तोषित. तो is redundant because of the तो already occurring as the last letter of the last line of the previous page.

²² Original स्य.

²⁴ Original नु

²⁶ Original शि.

²⁸ Original सम्वाधा.

³⁰ Original सुकवी.

³² Original कलत्रवानां.

²³ Original जशा.

²⁵ Original अस्मिनेव.

²⁷ Read किं वर्ण्यते.

²⁹ Original सव्वा.

³¹ Original सम्यगभवत्.

29. अथ गतश्च पारम् ॥१६॥ स्वर्गं गते पितरि यस्य यशःशरीरे पौत्रस्य पूतमनसा
(हरि)-

Second Plate : Reverse

30. (विक्रमेण राज्ञा वयःपरिणतेन) गुणानुरूपमित्यर्पिता स्वयमित्यभिज-³³
राज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥१७॥ यस्मिन्नपे विनयविक्रमभाजि जा(ते)³⁴
31. सम्यग्विभक्तचतुराश्रमवर्णधर्म्मा । अ(त) नन्दिनी सकल³⁵ कामदुघा प्रजाना()
पृथ्वी पृथोः पुनरिव प्रथितोदयासी(त्) ॥१८॥
32. करितुरगरत्नपूर्णा राज्ञस्तस्यानुरूपगुणवसतिः । नृपतिकु(ल) दुर्जयासीन्नगरी
श्रीदुर्जया नाम ॥१९॥ प्रागज्यो-
33. तिसा³⁶धिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डश्च³⁷ताशेपरिपुपक्षधोवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिरा-
34. जश्रीरत्नपालवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजधीमदिन्द्रपाल-
वर्मदेव(:)
35. कुशली ॥२०॥ उत्तरकूले हृष्योमविषयान्तःपातिकासीपाटकभविषाभूम्यपकृष्ट-
धान्यचतु(:) सहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ ।
36. यथायथं³⁸ समुपस्थितविषयकरण³⁹ व्यावहारिकप्रमुखज्ञानपदान् राजराज्ञोराणकाधिकृ-
तानन्या(न)-
37. पि राजन्यकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं
समादि-
38. शति विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियम् । वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता⁴⁰
यथासं-
39. स्था स्वसोमोद्देशपर्यन्ता हस्तिवन्धनौकावन्धचौ(रो)द्वरणदण्डपाशोपरि-
करनानानिमित्तोत्खेदनहस्त्यश्चो-
40. द्रुगोमहिषाज(त) विक्रप्रचारप्रभृतीनाम्बिनिवारितसर्वपीडा शासनीकृत्य ॥ आसीत्
काश्यपगोत्रोतिपवित्रो⁴¹मि-

³³ Original मत्यर्पित स्वयमभिज.

³⁴ Restored in the light of the Guwākuchi grant.

³⁵ Original शकल.

³⁶ Read प्रागज्योतिषा.

³⁷ Original क्षपुता.

³⁸ Reading restored on the strength of the Guwākuchi grant.

³⁹ Original विषयरकरण.

⁴⁰ Original द्रुपेता.

⁴¹ Original पवित्रो.

41. त्रवत्सलः । यजुर्वेदी गुणाधारो हरिपाल इति द्विजः ॥२०॥ सुतः शवरपाला(ख्यः)
ख्यातः सम्य⁴²विमत्सरः अभवद्भव-
42. निष्ठस्य द्विजन्मा मानिनाम्बरः ॥२१॥ सौख्यायिकेति तस्याभूत् परिचर्यासुखप्रदा ।
आर्याचारस्य⁴³साचारा पत्नी गु-
43. णवती सती ॥२२॥ देशपाल इति स्निग्धवन्धूनां कृतपालनः । ताभ्यां जातो
द्विजोऽप्येवगुणरत्ननिधिः सुधी(:) ॥२३॥
44. शासनोक्त्य भूरेसा⁴⁴तस्मै दुस्कर⁴⁵शासिने । द्विजाय दत्ता यत्ताय राज्येष्टम-
समे मया ॥२४॥

Third Plate : Inner Side

45. अस्या(:) सीमा पूर्व्वेण कोष्ठमाक्खियान विल्लपूर्व्वःकूलं⁴⁶ कून्तवित-
खम्भवासत्कमकूतिम(१)क्खियान [भूसीन्नि⁴⁷]
46. क्षेत्रालिश्च । पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन तद्भूः कून्तवितलाक्खवाभोगकासीपाटकभूम्याः⁴⁸ सीन्नि
बृहदालिः । दक्षिणे-
47. न तद्भूसीन्नि बृहदालिः । उत्तरग । पश्चिमगवक्केण⁴⁹ स्वल्पशुतिकेवत्तानां
भोगदीर्घिका⁵⁰ को[ष्ठभू-⁵¹]
48. सीम्नि क्षेत्राली । वंशस्तूपन्नयञ्च । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन तद्भूसीम्नि दिग्गुम्मानदी ।
उत्तरगव-
49. क्रेण सैव नदी । पूर्व्वंग । उत्तर(ग) वक्केण कोष्ठकापी⁵² पाटकभूसीन्नि क्षेत्राली ।
पश्चिमगव-
50. क्रेण तद्भूसीम्नि वास्तुवालिः । पश्चिमेन दिग्गुम्मा नदी । पश्चिमोत्तरेण सैव
नदी ।
51. उत्तरेण तथागतकारितादित्यभट्टारक⁵³सत्कशासनभविषाभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रा-

⁴² म्य is given as conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharya.

⁴³ Original आर्याचारस्य.

⁴⁴ Read भूरेषा.

⁴⁵ Read दुष्करशासिने.

⁴⁶ Original कूलम्. The visarga after pūrva is redundant.

⁴⁷ As conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharya.

⁴⁸ What is intended is possibly भूम्योः.

⁴⁹ Original वक्केण.

⁵⁰ Original भोगदीर्घा.

⁵¹ As conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

⁵² Read कासी.

⁵³ Original भट्टारक.

52. लिख्यशाखोटकवृक्ष(ः) । पशुपतिकारितपुष्करिणी⁵⁴ दक्षिणपाटौ⁵⁵ क्षेत्रालिख⁵⁶ ।
 53. उत्तरपूर्व्वेण तद्(ः) । कोष्ठमाकखियानविल्लपूर्व्वः ।⁵⁷ कूलञ्चेति ॥ॐ॥

TRANSLATION

Let there be success.⁵⁸

Let there be welfare (to all) (line 1).

Victorious is the head hung low, out of shame, by Lord Śambhu, defeated in the game of dice, due to being addressed by Gaurī as follows—
 “O liar ! I have won all your properties like the *khaṭvāṅga*,⁵⁹ the axe, the bull and the digit of the moon ; but, I am giving back to you all except Gaṅgā, which will remain with me as a maid servant for fetching water”.
 (verse 1).

Victorious is the Lord Mahā Varāha (i.e., the Great Boar) of worshipable and most glorious form, who is Paśupati and the Lord of the whole mankind. And this Earth, the mother of the family of Bhagadatta and the mainstay of the ceaseless line of kings is also victorious. (verse 2).

Let your sins caused by the Kali age be washed away by the chief of the rivers, Brahmaputra, which has received the name Lauhitya, as it were, due to its water's washing the mud in the form of the thick blood (*lohita*) of the axe, with which Jāmadagnya (i.e. Paraśurāma) chopped off the knotty part of trees in the form of necks of the kings. (verse 3).

Lord Hari in the form of the boar, who stirred the abode of the terrible snakes (i.e., the hell) with the movement of his hoofs, rescued the earth that got plunged into the layers of mud of the nether world in time of the universal deluge, when the form of the ocean was completely chattered (due to swelling of the same with the universal flood) (verse 4).

That Lord Viṣṇu, whose heart became languid with pleasure of union accompanied by an embrace with the Earth lifted up with the sproutings of His teeth, got as son the illustrious king named Naraka, the imprint of whose feet used to be worshipped by the whole world. (verse 5).

He (i.e., Naraka) of boundless fame, pre-eminantly resided in the city of Prāgjyotiṣa, which was the very seat of Lakṣhmī, decorated with the rays of jewels, and embellished with a garland in the form of the gardens

⁵⁴ पुष्करिणी is a local Prākṛitised form of पुष्करिणी.

⁵⁵ The original seems to be पाटौ.

⁵⁶ After this one redundant उ is given in the original.

⁵⁷ The *visarga* and the vertical line are redundant.

⁵⁸ This is the meaning of the word *siddham* which is generally supposed to be signified by the *āñjī* sign.

⁵⁹ A club or staff with a skull at the top considered as the weapon of Śiva and carried by ascetics and yogins.

belonging to its holy outskirts, and thus resided, as it were, in another bosom of his father. (verse 6).

He (i.e., Naraka) also had a son named Bhagadatta, the reclining place for all of his (i.e., Bhagadatta's) father's qualities; he (i.e., Bhagadatta) was flaming with enthusiasm, strong, destroyer of the enemy side, and always exclusively kind to the weak. (verse 7).

He (i.e., Bhagadatta) had a son named Vajradatta, who is to be counted at the head of the victorious kings of the earth, whose fame became confirmed through the prosperity (brought by him) to the Bhauma family (i.e., the family of Naraka), who pleased Indra (the holder of the thunderbolt) with the strength of his bolt-like arms and who stole away the fame of the enemies. (verse 8).

In that family there was a king named Śrī Brahmapāla; his son, celebrated in the world with the name Ratnapāla, was a destroyer of the enemy and a controller of his senses. Who indeed can describe the greatness of this king, a veritable mine of priceless qualities? By virtue of his commendable qualities he may be compared to (god) Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. (verse 9).

He caused the whole world to be crowded with white-washed temples of Śiva, the dwellings of the brāhmaṇas to be stuffed with various types of wealth, the places of sacrifice to be littered with sacrificial posts, the sky to be filled up with the sacrificial smoke, the ocean to be filled up with the lumps of dust raised up in course of military expeditions and all the quarters to be studded with victory-pillars. (verse 10).

His son was Purandarapāla of great fame, who was pure (in character), skilled in the arts, a giver (of gifts), an enjoyer (of pleasures of life), a hero and also a good poet. (verse 11).

He (i.e. Purandarapāla) was interested in hunting; many a time, even in the battle field he indulged in the pleasures of hunting by way of keeping the lion-like (enemy) kings confined in the cages formed by arrows (shoot around the enemy). (verse 12).

He became a married man in the true sense of the term by receiving Durllabhā, who was beyond the reach of the (ordinary beings of the) world and was born in the royal family of the Prājya rājya, conquered by the strength of arms by Jāmadagnya (i.e., Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni) (verse 13).

She was the most suitable consort to him like Sacī to Indra, Śivā to Śambhu, Rati to Smara (i.e., Kāmadeva), Lakṣmī to Hari (i.e., Viṣṇu), and Rohiṇī to Niśākara (i.e., the moon) (verse 14).

From them was born king Indrapāla, who was a veritable lamp of the eastern region and by whom the world was conspicuously embellished. He was a destroyer of enemies, a controller of senses, a master of polity and the foremost amongst the men of character. When he remained seated on the throne, the bejeweled floor of the court seemed to be covered

by fruits, as it were, with the jewels that fell down from the crowns of the (vassal) kings, lowered voluntarily for paying homage to him (verse 15).

He could dive into the unfathomable depth of, and also swim across, the wide rivers in the form of the various lores, which were very fast with the currents in the form of *pada* (i.e., grammar), *vākya* (i.e., *mīmāṃsā*), *tarka* (Logic) and *tantra*. (verse 16).

The pious king Ratnapāla of lion-like valour, being mature and old in age, in his own initiative and in consideration of his (grand son's) adequate qualities placed the royal fortune upon his grand son Indrapāla, whose father had assumed a body of fame after retiring to the heaven. (verse 17).

When polite and valorous Indrapāla became the king and effected a proper division of the four *āśramas* and the four *varṇas*, it appeared, as it were, that the earth, as a wish-yielder and a source of pleasure to all the people, once again became celebrated with prosperity as it was under (king) Prthu. (verse 18).

That king had the illustrious city of Durjyāyā, invincible to the (enemy) kings and full of horses and elephants, as his abode (i.e., capital) duly commensurate with his (own) qualities (verse 19).

The Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious and honourable king Indrapālavarmadeva, who is wellknown by his lordship over Prāgiyotiṣha, whose rule is unobstructed, who is the destroyer of the countless flanks of enemies, who meditates on the feet of Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Ratnapālavarmadeva (belonging to the family of) Śrī Varāha (i.e., Śrī Viṣṇu), reigns with prosperity, and with reference to the plot of land capable of yielding four thousand units of paddy sliced off from the *Bhaviṣābhūmi* of the Kāśī-Pāṭaka, belonging to the district of Hapyomā of the North bank, pays his due compliments to the people of the countryside beginning with Viṣayakarāṇa and the Vyāvahārika and others like Rājās, Rājñis and Rāṇakas and also others like the Rājanyakas, Rājaputras and Rājavallabhas, who are present now, and also to all those who will happen to be in future time in the respective positions, commands—(lines 33-38).

Be it known to you that this land, along with its homesteads, paddy-fields, dry lands, ponds, grazing grounds, refuse lands, etc., lying as it is within its boundaries and freed from all troubles on account of the fastening of elephants, fastening of boats, searching for thieves, inflicting of punishment, tenant's taxes, duties due to different causes and grazing of animals such as elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep, as recorded in this charter⁶⁰ —(lines 38-40).

There was a brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa gotra named Haripāla who

⁶⁰ Connect it with verse 24 below.

was a follower of the *Yajurveda*, a repository of (good) qualities, very pure (in character) and dear to the friends. (verse 20).

That (brāhmaṇa) devoted to Śiva, had a son, named Śavarapāla, who was the chief amongst the respectable persons, a famous brāhmaṇa and devoid of jealousy for the good men. (verse 21).

That brāhmaṇa, a devoted follower of the aryan customs, had a wife named Saukhyāyikā, who was chaste, devoted to noble customs and capable of giving pleasures through service. (verse 22).

From them was born a brāhmaṇa named Deśapāla; he was devoted to the task of protecting the friends and relatives, learned and a repository of all the innumerable best qualities. (verse 23).

To that brāhmaṇa of wonderful restraint, I donate this land recorded in this grant in the eighth year of my reign. (verse 24).

Its boundaries—

To the east, the eastern bank of the Koṣṭhamākkhiyāna *bil* and the field-dividing lane lying on the boundary of the Makūtimākkhiyāna *bhūmi*, (now) under the occupation of Kūntavita and Khambhavā.

To the south-east, the same land and a larger road lying as the boarder of the two lands viz. Kūntavitalākkhavābhoga and the Kāsīpāṭaka.

To the south the larger road on the boarder of the said lands. Turning a little to the north and then to the south the Bhogadīrghikā (i.e., the pond for their own consumption of fish) of the Svalpadyuti Kaivarttas and then a field-dividing lane on the margin of the land of Koṣṭha and also three bamboo bushes.

To the south-west the Dirgummā river on the boarder of the said land. The same river continues with a turning to the north and then turns to the east. Then the boundary takes a northward turn to find as boundary the field-dividing lane on the margin of the land of Koṣṭhakāsīpāṭaka. Then with a curve towards the west a lane demarcating a home-stead lying on the boarder of the said land.

To the west the Dirgummā river.

To the north-west the same river.

To the north a Śākhotaka tree lying on the field-demarcating lane on the boarder of the *Bhaviṣā bhūmi* under the occupation of Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka, as granted with a charter by *Tathāgata* (i.e., the past king), and the southern bank of a pond made by Paśupati and a field-dividing lane.

To the north-east the same land and the eastern bank of the Koṣṭhamākkhiyāna *bil*.

NOTES

Verse 1—For the depiction of Pārvatī's traditional jealousy against Gaṅgā in a similar maṅgala verse see *Mudrārākṣasa* (I. 1.) This drama of

Viśākhadatta is also supposed to have been composed in ancient Assam under the patronage of king Avantivarman, conjectured to be the immediate successor of king Bhāskaravarman. (see K. L. Barua, *EHK*. p 68f).

Verse. 3—The river Lauhitya (i.e. the Brahmaputra) has been held in high esteem by all the kings of Kāmarūpa since the days of Vanamālarman. In the C.P. grants of Vanamālarman the river is so greatly adored that it is invoked in the very first *maṅgala* verse, even before invoking Lord Śiva. About the origin of the name Lauhitya the *Kālikāpurāṇa* maintains that Brahmā himself called it Lauhitya-gaṅgaka. (*tasya nāma svayaṁ cakre vidhirlohitagaṅgakam*, *KP*. Venkatesvara edn. 86-33). Elsewhere in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* Lauhitya is also referred to as a sāgara (*KP*. 81-75 a). Again it is suggested that the river is called Lauhitya since it passes through the lake Lohita after originating in the Brahmakuṇḍa⁶¹ (*KP*. ch. 86, 29-33)⁶². The present CP grant of Indrapāla for the first time suggests that it was so named because its waters were coloured red by the thick blood (lohita) washed off from Paraśurāma's battle axe which severed the heads of the kings. The episode of Paraśurāma is given in the Gaṇeśakhaṇḍa of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*. For the episode of Paraśurāma's matricide and the origin of Brahmaputra See *KP*. Chowkhamba edn. chapters 82 f.

Verse 4—'Valgat sadma' is adjective to *Hariḥ* of the fourth *pada*.

Verse 6—There is an Utprekṣā alamkāra here aided by *śliṣṭa* words. While Prāgjyotiṣa is a seat of Lakṣmī, because of great prosperity and the presence of the royal fortune, the bosom of Viṣṇu, (the father of Naraka), is the seat of Lakṣmī because of her being his consort. While Prāgjyotiṣa abounds in jewels, the bosom of Viṣṇu shines with the Kaustubha jewel. While the city is embellished with a garland in the form of the gardens, the bosom of Viṣṇu (i.e., Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa) is *vanamālāvibhūṣita*.

Verse 8—The alliteration of this verse is noteworthy. Compare v. 8 of the Nidhanpur C.P. grant of Bhāskaravarman.

Verse 9—*Ātmā* - son. Cf. *ātmā vai putranāmāsi*. (*Śatapatha Br*. 14.9.4.26).

⁶¹ Also see, R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 249 f.

⁶² For the three references given here see 83-33 ; 78-75a and 83-29ff respectively in the Chowkhamba edn. of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*.

Verse 10—Here we have a Tulyayogitā alamkāra, based on an Atīśayokti alamkāra.

Verse 11—Purandarapāla, the son of Ratnapāla, expired before succeeding his father. So Ratnapāla was directly succeeded by his grandson Indrapāla, the donor of the present grant. But this Purandarapāla was not only a warrior but also a poet. It is believed that Purandarapāla was the author of *Nūtikusuma*, the Assamese version of the *Śukranūtisāra*⁶³ For Indrapāla's succeeding Ratnapāla see verse 17 below.

Verse 13—Prājyarājya also may be taken as the name of a particular kingdom or it simply means a 'vast kingdom'. But the earlier meaning seems to be more appropriate.

Verse 18—By the term *ānandinī sakalakāmadughā*, it is also suggested that the earth became like the wish-yielding cow Nandinī of Vasiṣṭha. During the reign of the ancient king Pṛthu, the earth behaved like a wish-yielding milch cow to all varieties of creatures as well as to the mountains as recounted in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, iv. 18. In Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* I.1, it is described that the Himālayas behaved as the calf when all the mountains milked the earth in the form of a wish-yielding cow.

Lines 32-34—Except for the names of the kings, the passage from *Prāgjyotiṣādhipatya* to *kuśālī* is common to the grants of Dharmapāla.

Line 35—*Bhaviṣābhūmi*. D. C. Sircar gives a similar term *bhaviṣya-kkidai-ppuram*, with the note—"Sanskrit-Tamil; tax-free land set apart to enable a teacher to reside permanently in a village for teaching" (*Glossary*, p. 53). The term *bhaviṣā* also presumably means something like a free grant to a teacher. This term *bhaviṣā* occurs again in line 51, where I have taken Ādityabhaṭṭāraka to be the name of a brāhmiṇ teacher to whom *bhaviṣā* is supposed to have been granted.

Apakṛṣṭa—See notes under the Khanāmukh C.P. grant of Dharmapāla.

⁶³ *Śukranūtisāra*, ed. by Gustav Oppert (Madras 1882); ed. by Jivananda Vidyasagara (Calcutta 1882.).

Lines 36-40—For the technical terms referring to various offices and taxes etc. see notes under earlier grants.

Verse 23—Snigdha bandhunām—Here the word *snigdha* possibly means dear friends (cf. *snigdhajanasamvibhaktaṃ duḥkhaṃ hi sahyavedanaṃ bhavati, Śakuntalā, III.*), and the word *bandhu* means relatives. But *snigdhabandhu* may also mean 'kind relative'.

Verse 24—aṣṭame same—*Same*, masc., sing. in the sense of 'year' is incorrect.

Lines 45-53—The proper names given in this portion are very peculiar. The indication of the boundaries is given in a very cumbrous manner. Hoernle and P. N. Bhattacharyya have given very widely differing interpretations of the expressions. Whatever I have given here on the strength of commonsense should be taken as only an approximate translation. *Villapūrvah kūlaṃ* of line 45 is explained by P. N. Bhattacharyya as the 'western side of the (Koṣṭha mākkhiyāna) *bil* and also the bank.' *Villapūrvakūlaṃ* taken together could mean the 'eastern bank of the bil, the bil being included in the donated land itself. But in the last line of the grant *Villapūrvah* and *Kūlaṃ* are very clearly shown to be different words. Hence, *Villapūrvah* is taken to mean *villah pūrvam yasya*, i.e., the western side (of the *bil* itself). (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 129). But when the western side is already mentioned, the word *kūlaṃ* becomes redundant in both the places. Hence, what appears to be more likely is that in both the places the visarga is redundant and inserted through scribal error, and *koṣṭhamākkhiyāna-villapūrvakūlaṃ* should be the actual reading as a compound word.

Line 51—Tathāgata—Scholars like K. L. Barua (*EHK*, p. 97) and P. C. Choudhury (*HCPA*, p. 405) take the word *tathāgata* as meaning the Buddha, and thus indicating the prevalence of Buddhism in Assam at an earlier date. But B. K. Barua (*CHA*, p. 182) is not prepared to take it as a very convincing evidence of the existence of Buddhism in ancient Assam. According to P. N. Bhattacharyya, it is not possible to take the term here to mean the Buddha, and on the strength of the etymological meaning the term may mean the previous King Ratnapāla. (*KŚ*, p. 129, n. 3). In our opinion, in analogy with the expression, *paśupatikāritapuṣkiriṇī* of the very following line (i.e., line 52) here also *Tathāgata* is the agent for the act of getting constructed or instituted (*kārita*). If we take the word *tathāgata* to mean the Buddha that cannot be very happily connected with *kārita*. Hence, the word *tathāgata* should mean the

previous king and the whole clause may refer to a free grant land granted by the previous king with a charter either in the name of a temple of the Sun god (*ādityabhaṭṭāraka*) or in the name of a brahmin pandit called *Āditya*. The etymological meaning (*yaugikārtha*) of the term *tathāgata* is explained in the *Śabdakalpadruma* as follows :

“यथा पुनरावृत्तिर्न भवति तथा तेन प्रकारेण गतः ।.....

यथा सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे—

यथा गतास्ते मुनयः शिवां गतिं

तथा गतिं सोऽपि गतस्तथागतः ॥”

No. 16. THE GUWĀKUCHI COPPER PLATE GRANT
OF INDRAPĀLA

(C. 1071 A.D.)⁶⁴

References—P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 130-145 ;
Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, 1336 sāl.

Place and history—A cultivator of the Guwākuchi village lying very near to the modern Nalbari town of the Kamrup district, discovered this grant underneath the ground while levelling the plinth of an old house in April 1925. In August 1925 it reached the hands of the late Pandit Hem Chandra Goswami. On the following year P. N. Bhattacharyya made a copy of it and in 1929 he published the first article on it in the *Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*.

These plates are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Accession No. A 18315).

Description—This grant consists of three copper plates bound together in a ring attached to a laddle-shaped seal. The seal contains the figure of a sitting elephant as the royal insignia in the upper half and the following three lines in the lower half :

९ स्वस्तिश्रीमांप्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति
महाराजाधिराजश्रीमदि
न्द्रपालवर्मदेवः ॥

The size of the plates is similar to that of the plates in Indrapāla's Gauhati grant.

Language, script and orthography—Language is Sanskrit. Up to line 41 the text is common to that of the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla except for the following words, in lines 34-35, given for indicating the location and magnitude of the donated land :

34. उत्तरकुले मन्दिविषयान्तःपातिपण्डरीभूमितोऽप-

35. कृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ ॥

(In the land capable of yielding two thousand units of paddy, sliced

⁶⁴ This grant has been issued in the 21st year of Indrapāla's reign, i.e., 13 years later than his Gauhati grant. Accordingly we have fixed the present approximate date.

off from the Paṇḍarī Bhūmī that belongs to the district of Mandi in the north bank.)

We are giving the translation only of that portion of the text which is not common to the earlier grant and which continues from line 41. In this portion there are another six verses for describing the donee. The description of the boundaries, that follows covers 12 lines of prose. Then in another 11 lines of prose we have 32 names (i.e. epithets) of the patron king, Indrapāla. It is indeed a very interesting feature and a great peculiarity so far as the inscriptions of ancient Assam are concerned.

Another peculiarity of this grant is that at the close of the text giving the 32 names, we have three more two-lettered words in three successive lines, presenting a verticle column of three small words. The words are :

sani (in the 72nd line)

dhani (73rd line) and

ani. (74th line).

Possibly these words give us the names of the engraver and the two scribes in abbreviation, presumably *sani* meaning Śanirāma, *dhani* meaning Dhanirāma and *ani* meaning Aniruddha (or Anirāma). Of these three persons, the first two may be supposed to be scribe cum engravers while the third may be the poet. P. N. Bhattacharyya conjectures Aniruddha (*ani*) to be the same as the poet of the Puṣpabhadra grant of Dharmapāla. (vide *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 132).

At any rate we must take it for granted that there were two different scribes⁶⁵ for this grant; because the letters of the first plate differ from those of the remaining two plates. In the first plate the letters are very clear, written with very fine lines and are vertically longer in look. The greatest peculiarity of these letters is that in place of their *mātrā* in the form of a bar, we have some right-angled isosceles at the right-hand top of the letters with one of the equal sides being vertical, the other being horizontal and the right angle facing the bottom-left. The triangles are hollow. In the remaining two plates the letters are engraved with bolder lines; they are square-shaped with equal vertical and horizontal magnitude. Some of these letters also have triangles in place of *mātrās*; but here the inside of the triangles are not vacant.

In the same level of the vertical column formed by the three names *Sani*, *Dani* and *Ani* we have four sketches, from left to right. First we have the figure of a bird (probably the Garuḍa) sitting on something like a snake. Then we have a lotus (*padma*) followed by the pictures of a *śaṅkha* and a *cakra*. All these four elements are associated with

⁶⁵ See D. C. Sircar under the terms *lekhaka* and *likhita*, (*Glossary*, p. 171) where he attributes the acts of writing (scribing) and engraving to two different persons; the latter i.e., the engraver presumably being the *takṣakāra*.

Lord Viṣṇu. Below the sketches of *padma*, *śaṅkha* and *cakra* there is the last line of the inscription containing the words :

पुष्टा सिरि अष्टहेन्त.

In time of inscribing the text on the plates many words and letters have been left out, e.g., the letters given within brackets in lines, 4, 7, 12, 42 etc. These are generally restored in the light of the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla.

Some of the notable orthographical peculiarities are as follows :

(1) There are two types of *anusvāra* ; one is the usual dot above the letter concerned, and the other is almost similar to the *anusvāra* of the modern Assamese/Bengali script and is put by the right side of the letter concerned. It may also be called the *āñji*-type *anusvāra*. (2) A final *m* is represented by an *anusvāra*. But in one place (line 26) a final *m* also occurs. (3) In place of an *anusvāra*, *ñ* is given before a *ś* ; *m* is given before *p*, *v*, *m*, etc. ; *n* is given before *dh*, *s*, etc. (4) Often *i* and *ī* are indiscriminately used. (5) Often *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* are indiscriminately used. (6) Sometimes *y* is used for *j*. (7) Only one letter is used for both *b* and *v*. (8) Consonants are reduplicated after a *repha* ; but there is no consistency in this matter. (9) *Visargas* are sparingly used, particularly in the portion describing the boundaries and in the epithets of the king. (10) The *avagraha* (i.e., the sign for an elided *a*).

Meires—(Of the verses not common to the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla) :

VV. 20-22, 25, Anuṣṭubh (Pathyāvakra), VV. 23-24, Āryā (Jāti).

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. [९] ⁶⁶स्वस्ति । खट्वाङ्ग⁶⁷ () पराशुर्वृषः शशिकलेत्यादि⁶⁷ त्वदीयम्मया सर्वस्वं जितमद्य न(१)म कितव प्रत्य(प्पितं ते पुनः)⁶⁸ ।
2. प्रेष्ट्या केवलमस्तु मे जलवहा गङ्गेति गोरीगिरा शम्भोदयूत⁶⁹ कलाजितस्य जयति ब्रीडाविनम्रं शिरः(:) ॥१॥
3. जयति पशुपतिः प्रजाधिनाथो महितवपुर्महिमामहावराहः । इयमपि भगदत्तवङ्ग-माताध(र)-

⁶⁶ The *āñji* is not seen but the space sufficient for it, is there.

⁶⁷ Original दी as in the Gauhati grant.

⁶⁸ Text restored in the light of the Gauhati grant.

⁶⁹ Original द्यत.

4. निरनन्त⁷⁰ नराधिपप्रतिष्ठा ॥२॥ यद्वारि रामपरशोर्नृपकण्ठकाण्डलावस्य(धौतघन)-⁷¹ लोहितपङ्कमासीत् ।
5. लौहित्य इत्यधिपतिः सरितां स एष ब्रह्माङ्गभृन्नुदतु वः कलिकलमषाणि ॥३॥ बलगात्रवुरक्षुभितभीम-
6. भुजङ्गसन्ना कलपावसानदिनभिन्नसमुद्रमुद्रां । पातालपङ्कपटलोदरसन्निनीनां क्रोडाकृति-
7. र्व्वसुमती() हरिरुज्जहार⁷² ॥४॥ द्रंष्ट्राङ्करोद्धतधरापरिरम्भगर्भसम्भोगसम्भृतर-
साल (स)मान(स)स्य । तस्या-
8. त्मजो नर(प)तिर्नरकाभिधानः श्रीमानभुजवनवन्दितपादमुद्रः ॥५॥ रत्नप्रभारुचिर-
9. मास्पदमेव लङ्गम्या(:)⁷³ पुण्योपकण्ठविलसद्गनमालभारि । प्राग्न्योतिषं पुरमपा-
10. रयशाः स उच्चैर्व्वक्षःस्थलं पितुरिवापरमध्यवास ॥६॥ तस्यापि सूनुरभवद्गद-
11. तनामा⁷⁴ विश्रामभूमिरखिलस्य पितुर्गुणस्य सत्त्वोद्धतः सततमूनवले वलीया-
12. न्यः पक्षपातमकरो(त्क्ष)तवैरिपक्षः ॥७॥ भौमान्वयोज्ज्वलपदप्रथितप्रतिष्ठः पृ-
13. ध्वीभुजाम्बिजयिनान्धुरि वज्रदत्तः दोर्व्वज्रवीर्यपरितोसित⁷⁵ वज्रपाणिरासीदमुष्य सुषि-
तारियशा-
14. स्तनूजः ॥८॥ तस्मिन्नेव नृपान्वये नरपतिः श्रीब्रह्मपालोभवत्तस्यात्मा भुवि रत्नपाल
इति च ख्यातः क्ष-
15. तारिर्व्वशी । अस्यानर्घगुणाकरस्य महिमा राजस्तु किम्वर्णयते यः श्लाघ्यैरतिदिश्यते
सुचरि(तै रा-)
16. मस्य कृष्णस्य वा ॥९॥ सम्वाधा वसुधा सुधाधवलितैः शम्भुप्रतिष्ठास्पदैर्यस्य⁷⁶
श्रोत्रियमन्दिराणि विभ(वैर्वा-)
17. नाप्र) कारैरपि । यूपैर्यज्ञगृहाङ्गणानि हविषान्धूमैर्नभोमण्डलं यात्रारेणुभिरर्णवाम्बु-
(विजय-
18. स्तम्भैश्च स)वर्वा दिशः ॥१०॥ आसीदुदारकीर्त्तिर्हाता भोक्ता शुचिः⁷⁷ कलाकुशलः ।
तस्य पुर(न्दरपालः)

⁷⁰ Original निरनन्तरन.

⁷¹ Text restored in the light of the Gauhati grant. These letters have been left out in time of inscribing the text.

⁷² Original हरिरुज्जहारः The ऊ-कार is similar in form to the ऊकार of the mod. Assamese/Bengali script.

⁷³ Original लङ्गम्याः.

⁷⁴ Original न्नामा.

⁷⁵ Read तोषित.

⁷⁶ Original यस्य.

⁷⁷ This word has been left out by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

Second Plate : Obverse

19. सूनुः शूरश्च सुकविश्च ॥११॥ कृतमतिकौतुकमसकृन्मृगयारसिकेन येन समरेपि ।
(क्षण-)
20. विरचितशरपञ्जरवद्दे रिपुराजशार्दूलैः⁷⁸ ॥१२॥ जामदग्न्यभुजविक्रमार्जितप्राज्य-
राज्यनृपव-
21. न्स⁷⁹ सम्भवा । दुर्लभेति स तु लोकदुर्लभा(') प्राप्य सम्यगभवत् कलत्र-
वान् ॥१३॥ सचीव शक्रस्य शिवेव श-
22. म्भो रतिः स्मरस्येव हरेरिव श्रीः । सा रोहिणीव क्षणदाकरस्य तस्यानुरूपप्रणया
वभूव ॥१४॥
23. देवः प्राचीप्रदीपः प्रकटवसुमतीमण्डनः खण्डितारिर्जातस्ताभ्यां जितात्मा नयविनयवता-
24. मग्रणीरिन्द्रपालः । यस्मिन् सिंहासनस्थे स्वयमवनिभृतां वद्धसेवाञ्जलीनामा-
वर्ज्जन्मौलि-
25. त्नैः फलितमिव सभाकुट्टिमं⁸⁰ कीर्यमाणैः ॥१५॥ सुविस्तृतानां पदवाक्यतर्कतन्त्र-
प्रवाह्यतितरस्वि-
26. नीनाम् । यः सर्वविद्यासरितामगाधमन्तर्निमग्नश्च गतश्च पारं⁸¹ ॥१६॥ स्वर्गं
गते पितरि यस्य यशः-
27. शरीरे पौत्रस्य पूतमनसा हरिविक्रमेण । राज्ञा वयःपरिणतेन गुणानुरूप-
28. मित्यर्पिता स्वयमियञ्जिराजलक्ष्मीः ॥१७॥ यस्मिन्नुपे विनयविक्रमभाजि जाते स-
29. म्यस्मिन्नभक्तचतुराश्रमवर्णधर्म्मा । आनन्दिनी सकलकामदुष्टा प्रजानां पृथ्वी पृथौ
30. पुनरिव प्रथितोदयासीत् ॥१८॥ करितुरगरत्नपूर्णा राज्ञस्तस्यानुरूपगुणवस-
31. तिः । नृपतिकुलदुर्ज्जयाऽसीत् नगरी श्रीदुर्ज्जया नाम ॥१९॥ प्राग्योतिषाधि-
पत्यसंख्याताप्र-
32. तिहृददण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्री-
33. मद्रत्नपालवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमदिन्द्र-
34. पालवर्मदेवः कुशली ॥२०॥ उत्तरकूले मन्दिविषयान्तःपातिपण्डरीभूमितोऽप-
35. कृष्टभ्रान्तद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ ॥२१॥ यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहा-

⁷⁸ Original सादूलैः.⁷⁹ Read वंश.⁸⁰ Original कुट्टिमं⁸¹ Here the *anusvāra* is what is said to be almost similar to that of the mod. Assamese/Bengali script. It consists of a dot and the curve of the *āñji* in place of the slanting dash of the mod. Assamese/Bengali *anusvāra*.

36. रिकप्रमुखजानपदान्⁸² राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि राजन्यक । राजपुत्र । राजव-
 37. ह्यभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोऽपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं⁸³ समादिशति विदितमस्तु

Second Plate : Reverse

38. भवतां⁸⁴ भूमिरियं⁸⁴ वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसी-⁸⁵
 39. मोद्देशपर्यन्ता हस्तिवन्ध । नौकावन्ध । चौरौद्धरण । दण्डपाशोपरिकर । नानानि-
 40. मित्तोत्खेतनहस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र । गोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनाम्बिनवारितसर्व-
 41. पीडाशासनीकृत्य ॥०॥ सावध्यामस्ति वैनामा ग्रामो धाम द्विजन्मनां । धर्मस्या-
 42. धर्मभीतस्य दुर्गलम्भनिभः कलौ ॥२०॥ काश्यपस्तत्र पुण्यात्मा सोमदेवोऽभव(द्)
 द्विजः ।
 43. क(१)णवशाखो ययुर्वेदो⁸⁶ देवः साक्षादिवात्मभूः ॥२१॥ वछदेव इति श्रीमान्
 वछदेव इवा-
 44. त्मजः तस्य यज्ञे छद्मन्नन्दप्रप्रीतपुरुषोत्तमः ॥२२॥ अस्य मुनेरिव वसिनः⁸⁷ पत्नी
 शीलै-
 45. ररुन्धतीवासीत् । अनुराधेति⁸⁸ कुलीना गङ्गेवापास्तकलिकलुषा ॥२३॥ दे-
 46. वक्यामिव तस्यां तेनाजनि देवदेव इति सूनुः । हरिरिव गोपहितै-
 47. षी यशोदया स्वीकृतः श्रीमान् ॥२४॥ द्विजायास्मै मही धान्यसहस्रद्वय-
 48. सम्मिता । मया राज्यस्य दत्तेयमेकविंशतिवत्सरे ॥२५॥ अस्याः
 49. सीमा पूर्व्वेण महागौरी । कामेश्वरयोः सत्कशासनमर्कम्योकोक्त⁸⁹ राजपुत्रपाटक ।
 50. पण्डरीभूमीन्नि वास्तवालिस्थकण्टाफलवृक्ष(ः) क्षेत्राली । पश्चिमगवक्त्रेण तद्भू (ः)
 वीरस-
 51. त्कमकुति [कुम्भरा]⁹⁰ पण्डरीभूम्योस्सीन्नि क्षेत्रालिः । दक्षिणगवक्त्रेण तद्भूसीन्नि
 क्षेत्रालिः ।

⁸² P. N. Bhattacharyya reads प्रमुखान् जानपदान्. But the present reading is very clear.

⁸³ P. N. Bhattacharyya reads सम्माननापूर्वकं. But the present reading is very clear.

⁸⁴ Āñji-type anusvāra.

⁸⁵ Original ससी

⁸⁶ Read ययुर्वेदी

⁸⁷ Read वशिनः

⁸⁸ Original अनुधारेति

⁸⁹ This Prākṛit name is read in the light of the KŚ. But P. N. Bhattacharyya himself is not very sure of this and the following Prākṛit names.

⁹⁰ In the original this word seems to have been cancelled.

52. पूर्वदक्षिणेन तद्भू(ः) महागौरीकामेश्वरयोस् सत्कशासनपण्डरीभूम्योः सीम्नि क्षेत्रालिः ।
 53. दक्षिणेन तद्भूसीम्नि । क्षेत्रालि(ः) । काहा⁹¹ रविजोलोत्तरकूले ।⁹² दक्षिणपश्चिमेन तद्भूसीम्नि
 54. क्षेत्रालिमस्तकः । पश्चिमेन तद्भू(ः) । वधुमाधवदेवसत्कशासनपण्डरीभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालि(ः) ।
 55. जिङ्गणी⁹³ वृक्षौ । पूर्वग उत्तरगवक्त्रेण तद्भूसीम्नि शाखोटकजोलदक्षिणकूलं । क्षेत्राली ।
 56. पश्चिमोत्तरेण तद्भूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालिमस्तकः । पूर्वगवक्त्रेण तद्भूसीम्नि तज्जोलदक्षिणकू-

Third Plate : Inner Side

57. लं । उत्तरग । पश्चिमग । उत्तरगवक्त्रेण तद्भूसीम्नि वास्तवालो[उत्तर × × × जोल]⁹⁴
 58. दक्षिणकूलस्थ(ः) भद्र⁹⁵ वृक्षः । उत्तरेण तद्भू(ः) । पीडकग्राम [सवृद्धग्राम]⁹⁶ भूम्यो(ः) सीम्नि स्थितं⁹⁷
 59. स्रोतसीजोलदक्षिणकूलं । उत्तरग । पूर्वगवक्त्रेण तद्ग्रामभूसीम्नि दक्षिणपूर्वकू-
 60. ल । दक्षिणकूलौ⁹⁸ । उत्तरपूर्वेण तद्भू(ः) । महागौरी । कामेश्वरयोर्देवसत्क-
 शासनपण्ड-
 61. रीभूम्योः सीम्नि वास्तवालिरचेति ॥३॥ श्रीमत्परमेश्वरपादानां द्वात्रिंश-⁹⁹
 62. ब्रामान्यमूनि । कोर्तिकमलिनीमार्तण्ड । लक्ष्मीभारोद्बहनाच्युत । सकललोकशङ्क-
 63. र । करुणाजोमूतवाहन । संग्रामस्तम्भ । असिकभोम । अप्रतिहतशक्तिकार्त्ति-
 64. केय । विपक्षवलभित् । नरसिंहविक्रम । कलिकालजलधिनिमज्ज-
 65. द्वयन्धरादिवराह । साहसैकसहाय । धनुर्द्धरैकपार्थ । अनतक्षत्रव-
 66. न्स¹ भार्गव । उद्धतभृशदश² निपात । अन्तःपुरभुजङ्ग । सरस्वती-

⁹¹ P. N. Bhattacharyya reads हाहा. But the present reading is very clear.

⁹² Original जोलोत्तरकूलौ.

⁹³ P. N. Bhattacharyya emends it as जिङ्गिनी.

⁹⁴ This portion of the plate is badly damaged. Words within square brackets are given by P. N. Bhattacharyya conjecturally.

⁹⁵ Original अम्ब.

⁹⁶ This word given within brackets seems to have been cancelled.

⁹⁷ The last word is not very clear.

⁹⁸ Read दक्षिणकूले.

⁹⁹ Original द्वातृश.

¹ Read वंश.

² Though not noticed by P. N. Bhattacharyya the original is clearly given as स.

67. निजनिवास । सुहृन्मानसराजहन्स ।³ कामिनोमनोमोहने⁴कमन्त्र ।
 68. अनवद्यविद्याधर । समरसागरमृगाङ्क । प्रज्ञावधूवल्लभ । कलाविलासिनीसुभ-
 69. ग । अर्थिजन⁵मनोरथकल्पद्रुम । मित्रोदयप्रभातसमय । धर्मविरोधिबर्त्सनी-
 70. रु । सद्गुणकण्ठावतन्स⁶ । सच्चरितचन्दनमलयगिरि । मेदिनीतिलक । प्रचण्डन-
 71. र्गण्ड । तरुणीतरण्ड । तुरङ्गरेवन्त । हरगिरिजाचरणपङ्कजरजोरञ्जितो-
 72. त्ताङ्ग ॥ॐ॥ सनि Picture of Picture of Picture of Picture of
 73. ढनि Garuḍa on a lotus a śaṅkha a cakra
 74. अनि a snake
 75. पुष्टा⁷ सिरि अष्टहेन्त ॥

TRANSLATION

(Of the portion not common to the Gauhati grant)

In Sāvathī, there is a village named Vaināmā, a dwelling place of the brāhmaṇas, which has been like a fort resorted to by virtue out of fear for sin, in the age of kali. (Verse 20)

In that village, there was a brāhmaṇa named Somadeva, a follower of the Kāṇvaśākhā of the *Yajurveda*, who was pious and an incarnation of Lord Brahmā himself, as it were. (Verse 21)

He had an illustrious son, named Vasudeva ; like Vasudeva who was 'a friend of Nanda' and a 'source of delight to Puruṣottama' (i.e., Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa) he also 'caused delight to his friends' and was a 'pet of Puruṣottama' (i.e. Lord Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa) (Verse 22).

He, a man of self restraint, had a wife named Anurādhā, born in a high family and characterised by a pure character like Arundhatī, the wife of the self restrained sage Vasiṣṭha. Like the Ganges she also could remove the sins of the Kali age (Verse 23).

Like Hari, who was 'illustrious', 'well wisher to the cowherds' and 'accepted by Yaśodā as a son' (after actually) taking birth from Devakī, from her (i.e., Anurādhā) also was born a son named Devadeva, who was 'illustrious', 'beneficial to the cowherds' and 'associated with fame and kindness'. (Verse 24).

A land capable of yielding two thousand units of paddy is being donated to this brāhmaṇa (viz. Devadeva) in the twentyfirst year of my reign. (Verse 25).

³ Read हंस.

⁵ Original अर्थीजन.

⁷ It may be पुष्य also.

⁴ Original नौ.

⁶ Read तंश.

The boundaries of this land are as follows—

To the east, a jack-fruit tree on the road bordering the Paṇḍarī bhūmi, Rājaputra pāṭaka and Markkamyīkokva belonging to (divine) Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara, a field-dividing lane (*ālī*); again the same land taking a westward curve; a field-dividing lane bordering the Paṇḍarī bhūmi and the Makutikumyārā belonging to Vira. Taking a southward curve a field-dividing lane on the margin of the same land. (lines 49-51).

To the south-east a field-dividing lane on the boundary of the same land and the Paṇḍarī bhūmi belonging to Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara. (line 52).

To the south a field-dividing lane on the boundary of that land and the north bank of the (river) Kāhāravijola.

To the south-west the head of a field-dividing lane at the boundary of that land.

To the west a field-dividing lane at the boundary of that land and the Paṇḍarī bhūmi belonging to (God) Vasumādhava, and a Jīnganī tree. Following an eastward curve and then a northward curve, there are the southern bank of the (river) Śākhotaḥajola and a field-dividing lane at the boundary of that land. (lines 53-55).

To the north-west there is the head of a field-dividing lane at the boundary of that land. With a curve running to the east there is the southern bank of that (i.e. Śākhotaḥajola) river at the boundary of that land. This boundary runs to the north, then to the west. With a northward curve there is a road at the boundary of that land a mango tree standing on the south bank of . . . jola. (lines 56-58).

To the north, the south bank of Srotasijola lying at the boundary of that land and Pīḍakagrāma (Savṛddha-grāma)-bhūmi. The boundary then runs to the north. With a curve to the east, (the boundary becomes identical with) the south-eastern bank and the south bank at the boundary of that village. (lines 58-60).

And to the north-east, a homestead-dividing road at the boundary of the Paṇḍarī bhūmi belonging to Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara and the said bhūmi. (lines 60-61).

The following are the thirtytwo names of the illustrious king (Indrapāla)-deva : (lines 61-62)⁸.

NOTES

Line 34. *Paṇḍarībhūmi*. Even now there is a *maujā* of the Kamrup district called the Pāṇḍurī maujā. The Rangiya junction of the

⁸ Since the proper names cannot be translated we have not reproduced them here. But we have preferred to give explanation of each name and also of the concluding words of the whole grant in the Notes below.

North-East Frontier Railway falls within this Pāṇḍurī maujā. Because of the similarity of the name and also because of the present Pāṇḍurī belonging to the north bank (*uttarakūla*) it may be supposed that the Paṇḍarī bhūmi was also somewhere near or around modern Rangiya.

Line 55. *Jiṅgaṇī*. It may be same as *jīṅgī* of the *Amarakoṣa*. cf.

मञ्जिष्ठा विकसा जिङ्गी समङ्गा कालमेष्िका ।

मण्डूकपर्णी—भण्डीरी भण्डी योजनवस्त्यपि ॥ (वनौषधिवर्गः)

Verse 20. *Sāvathī*. It is supposed to be the Prākṛitised form of Śrāvastī and identical with Śrāvastī of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla. For a detailed discussion on Sāvathī and Śrāvastī see our notes on Śrāvastī under the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant.

Verse 22. There is pun in the expression *suhṛnnanda* and *supṛitapurūṣot-tamaḥ*, as they are applicable to Vasudeva, the brāhmin and Vasudeva, the father of Lord Krishna. The meanings of these expressions are given within inverted commas in the translation.

Verse 24. There is pun in the expressions *gopahitaiṣī*, *yaśodayā svīkṛtaḥ* and *śrīmān* as they are applicable to both Devadeva and Hari. The meanings of these expressions are given within brackets in the translation. In case of Devadeva *yaśodayā svīkṛtaḥ* means *yaśasā dayayā ca svīkṛtaḥ*, i.e., he was accepted or chosen for association by *yaśaḥ* (fame) and *dayā* (the quality of kindness). Devadeva earned great fame and was also very kind.

Line 49. *Mahāgaurī-kāmeśvarayoḥ*. Possibly Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara, here mentioned together, are the same as *Śrīkāmeśvaramahāgaurī-bhaṭṭārikās* of the Tezpur and Parbatīyā grants of Vanamāla. We have shown in our notes under the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla that Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara are goddess Kāmākhya of the Nilācala hill and her associate Śiva. It may be suggested that earlier there was predominance of the Śaiva cult alone in Kāmarūpa. By the time of Vanamāla the Śākta cult also gained some importance. But yet there was greater predominance of Śaivism and hence Śrī Kāmeśvara is mentioned earlier in the grant of Vanamāla. By the time of Indrapāla the cult of Śakti presumably gained greater predominance and hence in the present grant Mahāgaurī is mentioned earlier. But that, in fact, no such discrimination between Śiva and Śakti was maintained may be gathered from the 24th name of Indrapāla given at lines 71-72.

Satkaśāsana. The word is 'Sanskritised from Prakrit *santaka*' and means the holding of 'belonging to ' (*Glossary*, p. 306). In line 60 we again have the expression *mahāgaūrī-kāmeśvara* or *devasatkaśāsana*, and in line 54 we have *vasumādhavadevasatkaśāsana*. Thus *satkaśāsana* means 'a free grant of land allotted in the name of a certain temple of a certain deity as a *devottarabhūmi* by the strength of a charter (*śāsana*) for the maintenance of the temple concerned'.

Line 61. The meaning and significance of the thirtytwo names are given below. Generally gods and goddesses are praised with several names, and *stotras* are composed with *aṣṭa nāma*, *daśa nāma*, *śata nāma*, *aṣṭottaraśatanāma* etc. The Kāmarūpa kings are often referred to as *parameśvara*. Yet by mentioning thirtytwo names of '*Śrīmat-parameśvarapāda*', the poet attempts at a deification of the patron king. The epithets are given mostly in the form of Param-parita Rūpakas. It is interesting that the names are given without any sign of the nominative case-ending.

Kīrtikamalinīmārttaṇḍa—A sun (*mārttaṇḍa*) for the lotus pond (*kamalinī*) in the form of his fame. Sun is the cause of blooming of the lotus pond. Indrapāla is the cause of the blooming of fame. Indrapāla was so famous that because of him fame could have the widest expanse.

Lakṣmībhārodbahanācyuta—Like Acyuta (i.e., god Viṣṇu) holding his consort goddess Lakṣmī in his bosom, Indrapāla also is an Acyuta (i.e., similar to god Viṣṇu, or firm) in the matter of bearing the burden of the royal fortune (*rājalakṣmī*). cf. verse 19 in the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman.

Sakalalokaśaṁkara—A (god) Śaṁkara to the whole world. He also does (-kara) good (i.e., *śaṁ* = welfare) to the whole world like god Śiva.

Karuṇājimūtavāhana—A Jimūtavāhana in compunction. Indrapāla is also extremely kind like Jimūtavāhana, the king of Vidyādhara, celebrated in the drama *Nāgānanda* of Aśvaghoṣa and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*.

Samgrāmastambha—As firm as a pillar in the battlefield.

Arasikabhīma—Terrific (*bhīma*) to the 'men without taste or intelligence' (*arasika*). Here there is also a Virodhābhāsa. Bhīma the third Pāṇḍava was a *rasika* (i.e., a cook) in the house of king of Virāṭa

during the exile incognito.⁹ Indrapāla is a Bhīma in valour, but he is not a cook.

Apratihataśaktikārttikeya—Like Kārttikeya he has also an unfailing (apratihata) power (śakti). Śakti also means a kind of weapon in case of Kārttikeya, and the royal power accruing out of three different sources and appearing in three forms viz. *Prabhuśakti*, *Utsāhaśakti* and *Mantraśakti*.

Vipakṣabalabhit—A breaker (*bhit*) of the force (*bala*) of the adversary (*vipakṣa*). There is a pun in the term and hence it also means an Indra (*balabhit*) to the enemy.

Narasimhavikrama—Similar to Lord Narasimha (i.e., Viṣṇu in man-lion incarnation) in valour. The term also means that in valour Indrapāla is the foremost (i.e., a lion or a chief) among men.

Kalikālalajaladhinimajjadvasundharādivarāha—The king is identical with the Lord Ādivarāha (i.e., Lord Viṣṇu in His Boar incarnation) who saved the earth plunged in the ocean, as the king has also saved the earth from being submerged in the ocean in the form of the kali age (i.e., the evils of the kali age).

Sāhasaikaśahāya—One who has courage alone as the helper or associate (in the matter of fighting with the enemy).

Dhanurddharaikapārtha—A match-less archerer like Arjuna.

Anataṣṭratravamsabhārgava—A destroyer, like Paraśurāma, of the kṣatriya kings, who are not submissive.

Uddhatabhūbhṛdaśanipāta—There is pun in the word *bhūbhṛt*. It may mean either 'a mountain' or 'a king'. Hence the epithet means, 'like the thunderbolt (of Indra) destroying the flying mountains, he is a thunderbolt-like destroyer of the arrogant kings'.

Antahpurabhujāṅga—A love-maker (only) inside the harem.

Sarasvatīnījanivāsa—The own (i.e., original and permanent) residence of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.

Suhyrnmānasarājahanṣa—The word *mānasa* means either 'heart' or 'the lake Mānasa'. The word *rājahanṣa* means either 'a swan' or 'a king in

⁹ Cf. Vallavo bhīmasenaśca pituste rasapācakaḥ
(Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparvan, 44-5.)

the form of a goose'. Hence the epithet means that like the swan floating at ease in the lake Mānasa the king also finds an endearing place in the heart (literally, mind) of the friends.

Kāminīmanomohanaikamantra—A mesmeric charm for attracting the minds of the beautiful women.

Anavadyavidyādhara—A *vidyādhara* of superior type. This may also mean that the king knows the best (*anavadya*) of the lores.

Samarasāgaramṛgāṅka—A moon for the ocean in the form of a battle.

Prajñāvadhūvallabha—A pet lover of the consort in the form of superior knowledge (*prajñā*). The idea is that the king possesses superior knowledge.

Kalāvīlāsiniśubhaga—A pet lover of the harlot in the form of arts (*kalā*). The idea is that the king is a master of all the arts.

Arthiḥjanamānorathakalpadruma—A wish-yielding tree in respect of the desires of the supplicants.

Mitrodayaprabhātasamaya—The word *mitra* means either a friend or the sun. Just as the morning is congenial for the rising of the sun, the king is helpful for the growth and prosperity of his friends and allies.

Dharmavirodhivartmabhīru—Afraid of a path opposed to that of righteous-

Sadguṇakarnāvatamsa—Because of good qualities he is like an ear-ornament to others. The idea is that people always like to hear about him.

Saccarītacandanamalayagiri—Like the Malaya mountain for the sandal wood that grows in it, the king is a patron of the men of good character.

Medinītilaka—A tilaka (a decorating mark of the forehead) for the Earth.

Pracaṇḍanaragaṇḍa—A boil (*gaṇḍa*) for the rude and the rough.

Taruṇītarāṇḍa—A bait (i.e., a charm) for the women.

Turaṅgarevanta—A very good rider of horse like Revanta, the son of the sun.

Haragirijācaranapañkajarajorañjītottamāṅga—One whose head is decorated with the dust of the feet of God Śiva and goddess Durgā.

A note on the pictures—The references to the *mahāgaurīkāmeśvarayoh satkaśāsana*, in the context of the boundaries of the donated land and the reference to king as a devotee of Śiva and Śakti in his twenty-fourth-epithet show that the Śakti cult associated with the Śaiva cult became very popular in Kāmarūpa in the second half of the 11th century. But, at the same time, Viṣṇuism was also equally popular. In the present grant we have several evidences to show that—

- (1) long before Vaiṣṇavism was preached by the neo-Vaiṣṇavite saint Śaṅkaradeva, Viṣṇuism was prevalent in Assam and,
- (2) despite of the predominance of Śāktism, associated with Śaivism, and despite of the king's being a devotee of Śiva and Śakti, Viṣṇuism has not been despised. The evidences in favour of the popularity of Viṣṇuism are as follows :

(i) References to the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu in verses 2, 4 and 5 ; (ii) Reverential reference to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in verse 9 ; (iii) Reference to Puruṣottama in verse 22 ; (iv) Reference to Hari in verse 24 ; (v) Reference to (the temple of) Vasumādhava, which received a grant of free *devottara land* (cf. line 54) ; (vi) Reference to Acyuta in line 62 ; (vii) The most important evidence is provided by the pictures of *garuḍa*, *padma*, *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. *Garuḍa* is the vehicle of Viṣṇu ; the *cakra* is the weapon of Viṣṇu and *śaṅkha* and *padma* also form distinguishing marks of the same deity. According to the principles of Vedic symbolism, the vehicles and weapons of the deities are always identical with the deities concerned. In *Nirukta* (7-4) it is said that all the associated objects like chariot, horse, weapons, and the arrows are identical with the deities. cf.

आत्मा एव एषां रथो भवति, आत्मा अश्वः, आत्मा आयुधम्,
आत्मा इषवः, आत्मा सर्वं देवस्य देवस्य ।

According to this principle, the four pictures symbolise Lord Viṣṇu Himself.

Puṣṭā siri aṣṭahenta—As suggested by P. N. Bhattacharya, it is the Prākṛitised version of a Sanskrit expression—*pustam śrī aṣṭakeṇa*, presumably implying that the pictures have been drawn by somebody named Aṣṭaka. The word *putsa* means plastering or painting or any work of clay.

No. 17. THE GACHTAL COPPER PLATE GRANT
OF GOPĀLAVARMAN

(C. 1080 A.D.)

Reference : Dr. P. C. Choudhury, *Journal of the Assam Research Society*,
Vol. XVIII, 1968, pp. 55-60.

History—Two copper plates were discovered at village Gachtal, near Dabaka of the Nowgong district sometime in 1966 and then through the courtesy of Sri R. V. Lyngdoh, the then District Magistrate of Nowgong, they reached the hands of Dr. P. C. Choudhury, Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Gauhati, who for the first time deciphered the text and got it published in the *JARS* in 1968. The plates are now preserved in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Gauhati.

Description—Each of the plates measure 24×18 cm. The grant as contained in these two plates is incomplete. Like the other grants of the Kāmarūpa kings this grant also might have contained three plates and thus the third plate and the royal seal are lost. We have inscription in the inner page of the first plate and on both sides of the second plate.

With this grant king Gopālavarmadeva the son and successor of king Indrapāla of Kāmarūpa donated a plot of land, capable of yielding eight thousand units of paddy, belonging to the land named Khārikoṇākoñci of the Bārāsrojambubā viṣaya. The name and description of the donee must have been given in the last plate, now not available to us. The available portion of the grant contains 32 beautiful Sanskrit verses and another 9 lines in prose giving us the formal declaration in the typical style of other *praśastis* of the time. The script is North Indian Brāhmī mixed with Dvanāgarī and some forms which later found place in the Assamese script. The *a* and *ā* are almost similar to the modern Assamese *a* and *ā*. As in the grants of Balavarman III and later kings, there are a few *anusvāras*, which are almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script. Here the *r* assumes a triangular form very similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali *r*, with the peculiarity that here the inner side of the triangle remains filled up. The *e-kāra* is also very similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

The letters of this inscription are very small in size. The text is written with utmost economy of space. At places the text has become illegible due to corrosion. Where the reading is doubtful or conjectural or retained with deference to the reading of P. C. Choudhury, we have indicated with square brackets. The rest is also full of scribal errors.

Metres—VV. 1, 2, Mandākrāntā ; VV. 3, 8, 10, 13, 23, 25, 26, 30, Sragddharā ; VV. 4, 17, Puṣpitāgrā ; VV. 5, 6, 9, 15, 16, 19, 24, 31, Vasantatilakā ; V. 7, Upajāti (Indravajrā+3 Upendravajrās), 32 (Upendravajrā+1 Indravajrā+2 Upendravajrā) ; VV. 11, 18, Mālinī ; V. 12, Rathoddhatā ; VV. 14, 20, 27, Śārdḍulavikrīḍita ; VV. 21, 22, 28, 29, Āryā.

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. स्वस्ति । [यास्मान्नङ्गैः]¹⁰ किरणनिकरेः शेखरम्मालतीनाम् ××× जाता
×××
2. गङ्गाश्रोतः¹¹ श्रयति विषदं¹² यत्र चोष्णीपलीलां तद्गस्तुङ्गं त्रिभुवन [गुरोरुत्तमाङ्गं
नु पायात्] ॥१॥
3. सत्पर्वस्त्रीणां श्वसनपवनोद्दामदीप्त¹³प्रतापोदीर्घो¹⁴ देवः स जयति जगद्विजय [भोज-
नाभः । दंष्ट्रा-
4. कोटिः कु]टिल¹⁵ विशदा यस्य सा क्रोडमूर्त्तेर्मेधोन्मुक्तां शशधरकलां लीलया
निर्जिगाय ॥२॥ आवर्त्त-
5. [भ्रान्तिभीम]स्तटत्तत्कुसुमक्षोभ [भस्मै] हत¹⁶श्रीर्लोहत् कलोलवाचा¹⁷ तुहिन-
गिरिदरीं दारयन् रंह-
6. सैव । सोयं लौहियसिन्धुः शशधरधवलस्फी¹⁸तफेनाट्टहासो नृत्यारम्भेषु विभ्रजयति
भगव-
7. तो विभ्रमं भूरुहस्य ॥३॥ प्रलयजलधिलङ्घिताब्धि¹⁹वेलां प्रवलरसातलपङ्कमूलमग्राम् ।
[उदहर-]

¹⁰ May be also यस्मिन्चुभ्रैः.

¹¹ Read स्रोतः.

¹² Read विशदं

¹³ Original दित्त.

¹⁴ Read प्रतापोऽदीर्घो.

¹⁵ Original लं.

¹⁶ Original हित.

¹⁷ Original वाक्स्तुहिन.

¹⁸ Original स्फित.

¹⁹ In this inscription also, as in the earlier ones, no distinction is maintained between व and ब.

8. त हरिः पुमान् पुराणो धरिणिमिमा(') भगवान् महावराहः ॥४॥ [तत्काल-
केलिविलसत्पुरुषो-
9. त्तमाङ्गसङ्गोलस]त्प्रमद जृम्भित²⁰मन्मथायाः । भूपालमौलिमणिमार्जितपाद-
10. पीठो देव्याः सुतो नरक इत्यभवत् पृथिव्याः ॥५॥ यस्य प्रतापशिखितापमश-
11. क्नुवन्तः सोढुं महाजिषु महेन्द्रचमृभटास्ते । उद्गीर्णरत्ननिकरैरपजगमुरङ्गै-
12. रङ्गारजालकमिव ज्वलितं वसन्तः ॥६॥ येनाहृताभ्यां मणिकुण्डलाभ्यां चिराय शू-
13. न्योक्तकण्ठयाशा । आधादवस्थां जननी सुराणां दिवो निरस्तेन्दुदिवाकरायाः ॥७॥
14. आसीत्पूर्वाञ्जिबीचीनिचयपरिचितं वप्रमुच्चैर्वहन्ती²¹ तस्य प्राग्ज्योतिषेति
[त्रिवशपतिपुर-]
15. स्पर्धिनी राजधानी । यस्यां श्यामासु शश्रद्धवलगृहशिरश्चुम्बि चन्द्रस्य विम्बं
[पूर्णां सौवर्णकु-]
16. म्भद्युतिमुदयवती(') कान्तिमद्यातनोति ॥८॥ आनन्दनः सुमनसामभिरामभूतेभूभृद्
भुवः कर-
17. परिग्रहपूर्णकामात् । शम्भोः कुमार इव सूनुरनन्त²²शक्तिस्तस्माद् वभूव भगदत्त
इति क्षितीशः ॥९॥
18. स्वैरं संग्रामसिन्धोरिरुधिरपयः²³ पूरसम्पूर्णमूर्तेरुद्धतं भूमिभर्तुः श्रियमजिरभ-
साद्²⁴वि-
19. [श्रुतं मन्दरत्वं] । दण्डे विद्वेषि²⁵वंशप्रशमपटुरसौ यस्य कोदण्डसङ्गी दोर्हण्डः
शृण्डभोगिभि-
20. तशिखरिभुवो विभ्रमं²⁶भूरुहस्य ॥१०॥ गुणगुरुभिरुदात्तैर्वज्रदत्तादिभि स्तैर्नृपति
[भिरभिजा-]
21. तैर्भूषितो यस्य वंशः । शशधरकरगौरैर्मर्मांसलं राजहंसैर्गगनतल- [विशालं पाटलं निर्जि-]
22. गाय ॥११॥ तस्य वशजलधेः कलानिधिर्वह्मपाल इति निर्म्मलोदयः शौम्य^{26a}शीतल-
[कुलोद्भवहस्तु]

Second Plate : Obverse

23. यः प्राप जन्म मनुजेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः ॥१२॥ पुत्रस्तस्यामृतांशुद्युतिविशदयशाः शतितार-
रातिपक्षः

²⁰ Original जिम्भित.

²¹ Original वहन्ति.

²² Original सूनुरन्तन.

²³ Original पयोः.

²⁴ Probably what is intended is श्रितमतिरभसाद्.

²⁵ Original विद्वेसि.

²⁶ Read विभ्रमो.

^{26a} Read शौम्य

24. क्षौणीभृन्मौलमालामुकुटमणिशिखामञ्जरीरञ्जिताङ्गुः । यजे राज्ञा²⁷ U — —
UUUUU
25. U — नाहनाभागकल्पः । श्रीमानस्वल्पशौर्यज्वलनवलयितद्मातलो रत्नपालः ॥१३॥
[वाणैर्वारिणकु-]
26. म्भपीठभिदुरैर्भूयः कुलं विद्विषां यस्मिन् विस्मयनीयभीममहसि स्वच्छन्दमु-
च्छिन्दति²⁸ । ताः प-
27. र्यस्तासितातपत्रपतिताश्चक्रे शिरःश्रेणयो रूप्यस्थालनिवेशिताम्बुजमर्थी मृत्योरिवार्धक्रि-
28. यां ॥१४॥ दोर्दृष्टदुर्लभित²⁹माजिषु गौडराजं जो³⁰ राज्यपालमर्वाजित्य भुजद्वयेन ।
मन्ये गजेन्द्रम-
29. दचन्द्रकसान्द्रतोयां मन्दाकिनीमपि कलिन्दसुताञ्चकार ॥१५॥ वीर³¹स्सुतोर्जनि
पुरन्दरपालनाम्ना धा-
30. त्रां निधिर्दिवसनाथ इव द्वितीयः । यस्य द्विषद्युवतिवाग्पजलैः प्रतापो जज्वाल
वाडव इवा-
31. म्बुभिरम्बुराशेः ॥१६॥ गुरुसमरसमुद्रचन्द्रलेखा प्रवलपराक्रमदन्तिदन्तकोटिः सृजनमु-
32. खसरोजराजहंसी³² धवलयति स्म जगन्पस्य³⁴ कीर्त्तिः ॥१७॥ अजनि विनयशौर्य-
33. योगधैर्यार्जितश्रीर्गुणजलनिधि³⁵रस्मादिन्द्रपालो नरेन्द्रः । समरशिरसि³⁶द-
34. प्पोद्दामदोर्दृष्टकण्डू[यन]³⁷ हरणमवापुर्यत्र ते शत्रुयोधाः ॥१८॥ पुत्रे पवित्रयशसि
35. त्रिदिवं प्रपन्ने पात्रीकृतस्य जरसा हरिविक्रमस्य । यस्मिन् निवेश्य निजनस-
36. रि राज्यमासीचेतश्चिराय परमात्मनि लब्धलक्ष्यं ॥१९॥ माद्यद्गौडविमर्हदुर्दमभु-
37. जः श्रीचन्द्रसुनुः स्वयं प्राप्तः संगरसीन्निवङ्गनृपतिः कल्याणचन्द्रो वली ।
चञ्चत्काञ्चन — U — U

²⁷ The original seems to be something like राज्ञाम्मलं घोरघनप्रसन नलो as read by P. C. Choudhury. But this does not carry any sense.

²⁸ Original स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दतिः. ²⁹ Read दुर्लभित.

³⁰ Read यो.

³¹ The original gives वीसुतो. The -र, which has been left out is given in a very small size in between the present and the next line under the space between वी and सु. It has been the practice to supply the omitted letter under and not above the main line. Cf. line 29 of the Nowgong grant of Balavarman III.

³² Original राजहंसी.

³⁴ Original जगन्निपस्य.

³⁵ Original धिः.

³⁶ Original शिरशि.

³⁷ In place of यन supplied by us, the original gives a ह and another sign which could not be identified.

38. रचितं नौचक्र[माधिष्ठता येनाजौ] विजितः सहैव³⁸यशसा दीनः प्रलीनः
कचित् ॥२०॥ विशदष्ट-
39. धारसधवलां विरचयता शम्भुदेवकुलमालां³⁹ । कैलासशैलमयमिव भूवलयं³⁹
(वि) निर्मितं
40. येन ॥२१॥ तस्य खलु⁴⁰ राष्ट्रकुटान्वयजलधिभवा वभूव कमलकरा । पुरुषोत्तमस्य
महिषी ल-
41. द्मौरिव राज्यदेवीति ॥२२॥ ताभ्यां भूभारभर्ता चरणनखशिखालीढभूपालमौलिः
श्रीगोपालः
42. छजन्मा समजनि विनयी योगधैर्यैकसिन्धुः । वन्धुर्विवद्व (ज)जनानामवजितवधुधः
सत्यस-
43. न्धः छधन्वी धीमान् भीमो रिपूणामपरिमितगुणग्रामविश्रामभूमिः ॥२३॥ माहेश्वरं
पितरि
44. धाम⁴¹ चिरात् प्रपन्ने या⁴² वीर्योजिते जयिनी यस्य भुजे वसन्ती । सस्भार
भूर्दृशरथे छरलोकभाजि
45. रामस्य रावणरिपोर्भुवनाधिपत्यं⁴³ ॥२४॥ आसीद् यो वीरतृष्णातरलछरवधूसम्भ्रम-
भ्रान्तिशि [अन्म-]

Second Plate : Reverse

46. क्षिरोन्मिश्रतूर्यध्वनिवधिरदिशां गृध्रवत्सोत्सवानाम् । प्रीतप्रेतव्रजानां सरुधिरपिशित-
स्फीतफे-
47. रण्डभाजां धारानाराचवल्लीवलयितनभसां सङ्गराणां विधाता ॥२५॥ तेजो
निर्व्वापितं [प्र]ज्वलदन-
48. लनिभम्मानपङ्कोपि धौतः प्रत्याख्याताः प्रकामं समररसतृषाः शत्रुतेनाभटानां । [सा
दूरं पू-]
49. रिताशासरिदपि सहृदां वर्धिता कीर्त्तिवल्ली यस्य स्वल्पीयसापि प्रतिवलजयिनः
[खड्गधाराजलेन] ॥२६॥

³⁸ Original सहैवः.

³⁹ These *anusvāras* are almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

⁴⁰ Original लुं.

⁴¹ Original धामं.

⁴² This या is redundant in view of the metre.

⁴³ This *anusvāra* is very similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

50. उद्दामस्मरविस्मयोर्मितरलास्तिर्यग्वलन्त्यो मुहुः शृङ्गारद्रवदृग्विमुग्ध⁴⁵ गतयो
लीलाविभ-
51. ज्जभुवः । लङ्गमीविभ्रमपुण्डरीकरुचिरं यद्वक्त्रं दृशः सानन्दं सुरसङ्घचञ्चलदृशां
[सपन्ति]
52. पर्युत्सुकाः ॥२७॥ विहसन्ति हंसराजिषु दीव्यन्ति च दन्तिदन्तमुषलेषु । विकसन्ति
च शशिकान्तिषु य-
53. स्य यर्शासि प्रकाशन्ते ॥२८॥ रजनीषु चक्रपीडा कण्टकमपि⁴⁶ पुण्डरीकदण्डेषु विभवेषु
मानहानिभूर्भू-
54. ति यस्मिन् जनस्यासीत् ॥२९॥ वीराणां मौलिरत्नेर्हृदिनिहितपदो विद्विषां शोक-
शङ्कुः स्निग्धो वन्धुर्व्व-
55. धानामपि शरणजुषां⁴⁷ पञ्जरो वज्रसारः कन्दर्पः कामिनीनां⁴⁸ प्रभुरवनिभुजा-
56. मर्थिनां कल्पवृक्षः । श्रोमान् गोपालदेवो जयति गुणनिधिर्भूषणं भूतलस्य ॥३०॥
57. गीर्वाणचारुचरितैः सृजनेन्निषेव्या दिव्याङ्गनाकृतिभिरुज्ज्व⁴⁹लिता वधूभिः । त-
58. स्याभवन्नृपवरस्य हृदयकेति पुण्या पुरो सनृपतेरमरावतीव ॥३१॥ भेभूद् द्विजः
59. सम्भ्रम इत्युदारः पाराशरो वाङ्मयपारदृश्व । तदात्मजः श्रीवलभद्रनामा
60. प्रशस्तिमेतां नृपतेश्चकार ॥३२॥ प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरि-
61. पुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमदिन्द्रपालवर्मदेवपादा-
62. नुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्गोपालदेवः कुशली ॥३३॥
63. वाराहो जम्बुवाविषयान्तःपातिखारिकोणाकोञ्चिभूम्यपकृष्टधान्याष्टसहस्रोत्पत्तिक-
भूमौ ॥३४॥
64. यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् राज्य^{49a}राज्ञीराणकाधि-
कृतानन्यान-
65. पिराजन्यकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं
समादिशति :—
66. विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं⁵⁰ वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता यथा-
संस्था स्वसीमो-

⁴⁵ Original द्रवदृग्विमुग्ध.

⁴⁶ Original कण्टकमपि.

⁴⁷ Original युषां.

⁴⁸ Original कामिनीनां.

⁴⁹ Read उज्ज्व.

^{49a} Read राज.

⁵⁰ This *anusvāra* is almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

67. [हेतुपर्य]न्ता हस्तिवन्धनौकावन्ध-चौरोद्धरण-दण्डपाशोपरिकर-नानामित्तोत्खेदन-
[हस्त्यग्रवोष्ट्र-
68. गोमहि]पाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनिवारितसर्व्वपीडाशासनीकृत्य ॥३॥

TRANSLATION

Let there be welfare to all !

(Let you (us) be protected by the head) of the Lord of the three worlds which is lofty and where the white rays (of the crescent moon assumes the form of) a garland of jesmin flowers around the crest and the white current of the river Ganges assumes the form of a turban (Verse 1).

Victorious is the Lord Viṣṇu (literally the dwarf god), the flames of whose power become invigorated by the air which rushes out as the respiration of the wives of the snakes (i.e., the female snakes), and who is also the source (i.e., creator) of the world as (Lord) Brahmā (who has the lotus in his navel). The tips of the teeth, which are crooked and clear white, belonging to Him as He assumes the form of a Boar, surpass (in beauty) effortlessly (even) the beauty of the crescent moon free from the cloud (Verse 2).

Victorious is the celebrated ocean in the form of (the river) Lauhitya, whose beauty is stolen away by the falling of the flowers of the trees of the banks, shaken by the terrible force of the whirlpools, and who with the force of its voice in the form of the sound of the rolling waves breaks the caves of the mount Himālayas, and who indulges in loud laughter in the form of huge foams, as white as the moon and thus, presents (a semblance of) the beauty of Lord Śiva in the beginning of his dances. (Verse 3)

The illustrious Lord Hari, the ancientmost being, in the incarnation of the great boar saved this earth, which got deeply plunged in the muds of the deep recesses of the nether world and had the shores of its oceans surpassed by the waters of the universal deluge. (Verse 4).

The goddess Earth, who had her erotic sentiment excitingly provoked by the touch of the body of the Lord Viṣṇu engaged in the sport of that (moment of saving the Earth from the deluge), begot a son named Naraka, whose feet used to be brushed by the crest jewels of the vassal kings. (Verse 5).

Those celebrated soldiers of the army of the great Indra, being unable to bear the heat of the fire in the form of his valour in the great battles flew away with their limbs embellished with jewels, (giving the impression of) as it were, bearing a net of burning charcoals. (Verse 6).

The mother of the gods, for a long time, assumed the condition of a sky devoid of the sun and the moon as the region of her ears was ren-

dered bare by the stealing away of her bejeweled ear-rings by him (i.e. by Naraka). (Verse 7).

He had a capital city named *Prāggyotiṣa*, which could vie with the city of the gods, whose high ramparts were touched by the waves of the eastern sea and wherein, even today, in the nights, the reflection of the moon falling at the top of the white-washed palaces assumes the rising beauty of a pitcher of gold. (Verse 8).

Just as lord *Śambhu* had a son (named *Kumāra*), who was of endless prowess and was a source of joy to the gods, because of his desires being fulfilled by his marriage with the daughter of the mountain (i.e., with *Pārvati*) of beautiful appearance, he (i.e. *Naraka*) also had a son named *Bhagadatta*, who was a source of pleasure to the gods and possessed immense power and became the king (in course of time). (Verse 9).

The upsurge (i.e., rising) of the lord of the world (i.e., the king), who is as it were the ocean of war, full of (waters in the form of) the blood of the enemies, has assumed the form of the celebrated mountain *Mandara*, out of force (of movement). In the matter of giving punishment this king is skilled in the act of subduing the hostile families. His cudgel-like arm, accompanied by the bow, assumes the similitude of a tree, which is encircled by snakes similar to elephants' trunks, and which grows on the top of a mountain (i.e., the *Mandara* mountain). (Verse 10).

His (i.e., *Bhagadatta's*) family, embellished by those noble, large-hearted and highly accomplished kings beginning with *Vajradatta*, surpassed (in beauty) the wide reddish-white-coloured sky covered by the swans as white as the rays of the moon. (Verse 11).

As a moon of that very ocean in the form of that family, a moon amongst the kings named *Brahmapāla*, took birth (like the moon rising from the ocean); he had a pure birth, he was sober, cold (in temperament) and he was the best of his family. (Verse 12).

A son was born to him (i.e. to *Brahmapāla*). He was the illustrious king *Ratnapāla*, whose fame was as white as the rays of the moon, who had subdued the enemies, whose feet used to be illumined by the series of rays issuing from crest jewels of the vassal kings - - - the flames of whose great powers encircled the whole earth. (Verse 13).

As that king of wonderful and awful lustre got engaged in repeatedly uprooting the family of the enemies at ease with the arrows that pierce through the temples of the elephants, those rows of (chopped off) heads falling on the broad white umbrellas behaved, as it were, as an offering of (red) lotuses in silver platters, to the god of death. (Verse 14).

He, having defeated in the battle field, with his two arms, *Rājyapāla*, the king of *Gauḍa*, arrogant on account of (the strength of) his lance-like arms, transferred as it were, even the *Ganges*, having the waters thickened with the ichor of the best of elephants, into *Yamunā*. (Verse 15).

There was born a veritable source of lustre, like a second sun,

named Purandarapāla, as his valorous son, the fire of whose prowess used to burn with the waters of the tears of wives of the enemies like the marine fire burning with the waters of the ocean. (Verse 16).

The fame of the king, which was the digit of moon belonging to the ocean in the form of great battles, the tip of the tusk of the elephant in the form of indomitable prowess, the swan to the lotuses in the form of the faces of noble men, used to whiten the whole world. (Verse 17).

From him was born king Indrapāla, who was an ocean of virtues and who earned his fortune with politeness, courage, attention and patience, and from whom in the battle field the soldiers of the enemies got relief to the itching of their lance-like arms getting enthused due to pride. (Verse 18).

When the king Ratnapāla, as valorous as Indra, became old, and his son (Purandarapāla also) retired to the heaven (i.e. expired prematurely), he handed over the kingdom to this very grand-son (i.e., to Indrapāla) and then for ever diverted his mind to the thought of the supreme self. (Verse 19).

He (i.e., Indrapāla) once had an occasion to meet the king of Vaṅga, named Kalyāṇacandra, who was the son of Śricandra and possessed undefeatable arms which earlier had the distinction of demolishing the strong king of Gauḍa. Indrapāla then took his place at the head of a cluster of boats, covered by fluttering golden wheels and chowries and in no time defeated him (i.e., Kalyāṇacandra) and annihilated him along with his fame. (Verse 20)

By constructing a series of clearly white-washed temples of Śambhu (i.e., Śiva-temples) he rendered the globe of the world, as it were, to be full of Kailāśa mountains. (Verse 21).

Like goddess Lakshmī of Lord Viṣṇu, Rājyadevī, who was a Lakshmī (Kamalakarā) born of the ocean of the family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, was the chief queen of him, who was the best of all men. (Verse 22).

From them (i.e., Indrapāla and Rājyadevī) was born Śrī Gopāla, who was the upholder of the burden of the world, the rays of the nails of the feet of whom used to touch the heads of the vassal kings; who was of auspicious birth, polite and an ocean of attention and patience. He was a friend of the learned men; he conquered the whole world and was a follower of truth, a good archer, awe-inspiring to the enemies and was the resting ground for unfathomable qualities. (Verse 23).

His father having gone away long back to meet the divine lusture of Śiva, the earth took shelter in his victorious arms, enthused with strength, and was reminded of the lordship of Rāma, the vanquisher of Rāvaṇa, over the whole world, after Daśaratha had retired to the abode of gods. (Verse 24).

He was the creator of battles, where the quarters were deafened by the sound of the war trumpets mingled with the jingling of the

anklets, occurring due to the anxious movements of the damsels of the heaven, who were restless with their curiosity to see acts of valour, which offered a festivity to the children of the vultures, which caused pleasure to the hosts of goblins, which were visited by jackles swelling with the consumption of flesh and blood, and where the skies were encircled by incessant showers of arrows. (Verse 25).

Even by a lesser quantity of the water of the edge (i.e. brightness) of his sword, which had vanquished the enemy soldiers, the burning-fire-like valour of the enemy soldiers was extinguished and the mud in the form of their pride was washed away, the thirst for battles was duly quenched, the river of hope of the friends was duly filled up, and the creeper of his fame was fully nurtured. (Verse 26).

The glances of fickle-eyed damsels of heaven move with curiosity and pleasure to look at his moon-like face, which is as beautiful as the play-lotus of goddess Lakshmī. The glances are characterised by a fickleness caused by the wonderful upsurge of unbridled force of Cupid; they frequently take a crooked turn; their movements are as enchanting as to be able to cause a melting of the heart with the sentiment of love; and they are characterised by a playful twisting of the eye-brows. (Verse 27).

His fames shine in such a manner so as to give the impression that they are smiling through the rows of swans, playing in the mace-like tusks of the elephants, and blooming in the form of the moon light. (Verse 28).

When he was the king only the nights experienced *cakrapīḍā* (i.e., pangs of separation for the *cakravāka* birds) (and the people did not have to suffer from any *cakrapīḍā* or migrain), there used to be *kaṇṭaka* (thorns) only in the lotus-stalks (but the people were free from any *kaṇṭaka* or enemy), there used to be lack of pride (*mānahāni*) of the people only in the time of prosperity (but otherwise they all had self respect). (Verse 29).

Victorious is illustrious Gopāladeva, whose feet are held in heart by the crest-jewels (i.e., the foremost) of the heroes, who is a piercing pin in the form of the sorrow of the enemies, who is an agreeable friend of the learned men, a bolt-like cage for those who seek shelter, a veritable Cupid for the beautiful women, lord of the vassal kings, a wish-yielding tree (i.e., *kalpa-vṛkṣa*) for the supplicants, a repository of virtues and an embellishment of the world. (Verse 30).

That good ruler and great king had a holy city named *Haḍapyaka*, inhabited by noble men of as clean a character as that of the gods, and rendered beautiful by the women having (charming) bodies like those of the heavenly damsels. (Verse 31).

There was a generous brāhmin of the Pārāsara gotra, named Sambhrama, who was a great scholar of literature; his son, named Balabhadra had composed this eulogy (*praśasti*) of the king. (Verse 32).

The Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious king Gopālarman, who is well-known by his lordship over Prāg-
jyotiṣha, whose rule is unobstructed, who meditates on the feet of
Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Indra-
pālavarmaśrī (belonging to the family of) Śrī Varāha (i.e., Śrī Viṣṇu)
reigns with prosperity, and with reference to the plot of land capable of
yielding eight thousand units of paddy sliced off from the *Khārikoṇākoṇī*
bhūmi, that belongs to the district (*viṣaya*) of *Bārāsrojambubā*, pays his
due compliments to the people of the countryside beginning with Viṣaya-
karaṇa and the Vyāvahārika and others like Rājās, Rājñīs and Rānakas
and also others like the Rājanyakas, Rājaputras and Rājavallabhas, who
are present now and also to all those who will happen to be in future
time in the respective positions, and commands—(lines 60 to 65).

(The translation of the remaining lines is identical with that of
lines 38 to 40 in the Gauhati C. P. grant of Indrapāla).

NOTES

Verse 1. The first verse seems to be a salutation to Śiva, as there is a
reference to the river Ganges, behaving as a turban over the head
of the deity addressed here. The last portion of line 2 is badly
broken and hence could not be read.

Verse 2 Here we have a reference to the Boar incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu
who is mentioned as *adīrgha deva*, or the Dwarf god (i.e., Vāmana),
and who is also described as the source of the whole creation as
Padmanābha, the progenitor of Brahmā.

Verse 3 We have similar salutations to the river Lauhitya also in the
following grants : Tezpur grant of Vanamāla, V. 1; Parbatīyā
grant of Vanamāla, V. 1; Uttarbarbil grant of Balavarman, V. 2;
Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla, V. 2; Suwālkuchi grant of Ratnapāla,
V. 2; Gauhati grant of Indrapāla, V. 3; Guākuchi grant of
Indrapāla, V. 3.

Verse 7 The *Kuṇḍala-haraṇa* episode is referred to also in the following
grants :

Tezpur grant of Vanamāla, V. 3; Nowgong grant of Balavarman,
V. 4; Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla, V. 4; Suwālkuchi grant of
Ratnapāla, V. 4. For the legendary sources see introduction.

Verse 9 *bhūbhṛdbhuvāḥ* is in genitive singular of the word *bhūbhṛdbhū*
meaning one who is born of the Mountain, i.e., the daughter of the
Himālayas, i.e. goddess Pārvatī. The expression *karaparigraha-*

pūrṇakāmāt involves a “*sāpekṣatve’pi gamakatvāt samāsa*”. The whole verse involves a *Pūrṇopamā alaṅkāra*.

Verse 10 The king is a battle personified. The battle is an ocean, as it were, where the blood of enemy is the lump of water, and the uprising of the king is the uprising of ocean, which assumes the form of the mt. Mandara, which has once been used by gods and demons for churning the milky ocean. The king’s arm is like a tree on the top of the mt. Mandara. The bow in the arm is a snake that encircles the tree.

Verse 11 *Rājahamsāstu te cañcucaraṇair lohitaṁ sitāḥ.* (*Amarakośa*). The *rājahamsa* is a sort of white goose with red legs and bill. Hence, the sky covered by such *rājahamsas* is replete with two colours, viz., white and red (*pātala*). That vast expanse of white and red sky is now surpassed by the large family which is also characterised by vastness, red colour, which may be said to be the symbol of the *ābhijātya* of the family, and white colour, which symbolises fame, according to an established poetical convention (i.e., *kevisamaya*).

Verse 13 In the portion which could not be satisfactorily deciphered, king Ratnapāla seems to be compared to Nābhāga, who was the son of Yayāti and father of Aja. cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 70. 42-43. We have a reference to Nābhāga also in the following verse of Kauṭīlya, where he is said to have ruled over the world for a long time by virtue of restraining the six sense-organs. Cf.

शशुषड्वर्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः ।

अम्बरीषश्च नाभागो बुभुजाते चिरं महीम् ॥ (अर्थशास्त्रम्, १-६)

Verse 14 *Yasmin . . . ucchindati* is in *bhāve saptamī*; *ucchindat* is adj. to *yat of yasmin*. The innumerable white umbrellas carried by the enemy chiefs resemble silver platters, and the chopped off heads, besmeared with red blood, which fall down on the white umbrellas, resemble red lotuses.

Verse 15 We cannot identify who was this king of Gauḍa, named Rājyapāla. But this feat of Ratnapāla seems to be corroborated also by the verse 14 and line 24 of his own Bargāon grant. Water of Mandākinī (i.e., river Ganges) is traditionally believed to be white and the water of Kālindī (i.e., the river Yamunā, called Kalinda-sutā) to be blue. There was such a huge collection of his own elephants by the side of the river Ganges, flowing

through the territory of Gauḍa, now occupied by him, that the flow of ichor itself could blacken the whole mass of the water of river Ganges.

Verse 19 Ratnapāla's son was Purandarapāla, described in verses 16 and 17. Purandarapāla expired as a crown prince. King Indrapāla in his old age placed his own grand son (*nijānaptari*) Indrapāla on the throne. For Purandarapāla's expiry as a crown-prince compare V. 6. in the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Copper Plate grant of Dharmapāla.

Verse 20 Indrapāla defeated Kalyāṇacandra, the king of Bengal in a naval warfare. Kalyāṇacandra, son of Śricandra, had the distinction of himself defeating the king of Gauḍa.

Verse 29 For the figures of speech in this verse compare lines 40-43 in the Bargāon Copper Plate grant of Ratnapāla.

Verse 31 Here the capital city is called Haḍapyaka. This reading is very clear and there cannot be even an iota of doubt in this matter. The same city used to be referred to also with other variant names as follows: Hāyūṅthal Copper Plate grant of Harjara (line 21) = *Haṭappeśvara*; (In the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman also possibly the reading was *Haṭappeśvara*.); Tezpur and Parbatīyā C. P. grants of Vanamāla = *Haḍapeśvara*; Uttarbarbil and Nowgong C. P. grants of Balavarman III = *Haḍappeśvara*. *Haṭapeśvara* might have been the name of a deity installed in some central market place (*Haṭṭa*). This name *Haṭapeśvara* may be compared to the *Haṭṭeśvara* (Svayambhūkṣetra) of village Jagadballabhpur of the Howrah district in West Bengal. For more details see also our notes under the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman.

Location of the capital cities :

Most probably Haḍapyaka was identical with what has been earlier called *Haṭapeśvara* or *Haḍapeśvara*. So long the general impression was that *Haṭapeśvara* or *Haḍapeśvara* was the capital city of the kings of the family of Śālastambha, and the kings of the Pāla family did not continue to reside in this city established by a different family, and they established their head-quarters at a different city called Durjīyā, which remained the capital city till the days of Dharmapāla, who at a later period of his reign shifted his administrative head-quarters to yet another city called Kāmarūpanagara. Now the occurrence of the name of Haḍapyaka in the Gachal C. P. grant of Gopāla, a later king of the Pāla family, necessitates

a fresh review of the identification and location of the capital cities so far known by name up to the days of Dharmapāla.

प्रागज्योतिष—(1) Prāgijyotiṣa was the capital city of Naraka. We gather this information from V. 5 of the Uttarbarbil and the Nowgong C. P. grants of Balavarman. (स कामरूपे जितकामरूपो प्रागज्योतिषाख्यं पुरमध्युवास). In the 5th verse of both the grants of Ratnapāla, in the 6th verse of both the grants of Indrapāla, in the 8th verse of the Gachital C. P. grant of Gopāla (तस्य प्रागज्योतिषेति त्रिदशपतिपुरस्पर्धिनी राजधानी) and in the 2nd verse of the first two C. P. grants of Dharmapāla, Prāgijyotiṣa is referred to as the capital city of Naraka.

(2) The seal attached to the Dubi C. P. grant of Bhāskara (line 2) and the Nalanda clay seals seem to point out that Prāgijyotiṣa was the capital city also of Puṣyavarman. (प्रागज्योतिषेन्द्रपुष्यवर्मा). Presumably, on account of this, the family of Puṣyavarman continued to be referred to as the family (अन्वय) of the lord of Prāgijyotiṣa. cf. also प्रागज्योतिषाधिपान्वयोवनमालवर्मदेवः in the seal attached to the Parbatīyā C. P. grant of Vanamāla. The same epithet is found also in the seals attached to the grants of Balavarman III and the Suwālkuchi grant of Ratnapāla.

(3) In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* also Prāgijyotiṣa is described as the capital city of Naraka. Cf.

अस्य मध्ये स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्राङ्मक्षत्रं ससर्ज ह ।
ततः प्रागज्योतिषाख्येयं पुरी शक्रपुरीसमा ॥
अत्र त्वं वस भद्रं ते ह्यभिषिक्तो मया स्वयम् ।
कृतदारः सहामात्यैः राजा भूत्वा महाबलः ॥

(KP. 38. 123 f)

(4) Prāgijyotiṣa may be located in the modern city of Gauhati. Most probably it comprised mainly of the two villages which are even now known as Jatīyā and Dīspur. These two names are supposed to have given rise to the name (Prāg)-jyo-tis-pur (*HCPA*, p. 36). At a little distance from these villages there is also a village for long known as the Narakāsur Gāon, which is surrounded by a hill known as the Narakāsur Pāhār. More precisely, this Narakāsur Gāon, situated at the south-eastern end of the city (now very near to the site of the present capital of Assam) seems to have been the actual site of Naraka's capital city. This village is surrounded on three sides by the Narakāsur hill, this giving the impression of a *giri-durga*, a natural mountaneous fortress. With reference to the capital city of Naraka, the *Kālikāpurāṇa* also says :

स्रगुतां च पुरीं चक्रे गिरिदुर्गेण माधवः ।
जलदुर्गां सर्वतो भद्रं देवैरपि दुरासदम् ॥

(KP. 38. 133)

(5) It is recorded in the Dubi C.P. grant (V. 37) that Sthiravarman (also called Sthitavarman) built a city on the bank of the Brahmaputra, along with his friends and followers. It is suggested that the said city "might have been an extension of Prāgjyotiṣa" (HCPA. p. 156). This will lead us to the conclusion that Naraka's Prāgjyotiṣa, which was originally located at and around the Narakasur hill now extended up to the bank of the river Brahmaputra, thus making Prāgjyotiṣa identical with the modern city of Gauhati (not the greater Gauhati), which is also surrounded by a semi-circle of hills. This Prāgjyotiṣa, extending up to the river bank might have been in the mind of the author of the KP. (38. 133) in time of calling it both a गिरिदुर्ग and a जलदुर्ग.

(6) Kāmarūpa was the name of the entire kingdom at least up to the days of Bhāskara. Yuwan Chwang refers to Kāmarūpa as a vast territory. In the Nidhanpur C.P. grant the kingdom is called Kāmarūpa. cf. कामरूपलक्ष्मोसमालिङ्गनप्रकटिताभिगामिकगुणानुरागवृत्तिः (lines 44-45). In the Uttarbarbil and the Nowgong C.P. grants of Balavarman, Prāgjyotiṣa, the city of Naraka, is said to be situated in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. (स कामरूपे जितकामरूपः प्रागज्योतिषाख्यं पुरमध्यवास)

In the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, Kāmarūpa is the name of the entire territory, and its boundaries are defined as follows :

कर्तोया नदी पूर्वं यावद् दिक्करवासिनीम् ।

त्रिशद् योजनविस्तीर्णं योजनैकशतायतम् ॥

त्रिकोणं कृष्णवर्णं च प्रभूताचलपूरितम् ।

नदीशतसमायुक्तं कामरूपं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ (५१-७६, ७७)

Thus, while Kāmarūpa remained the name of the entire kingdom till the ninth (9th) century A.D., the kingdom used to be known also by the name Prāgjyotiṣa. We have a very clear evidence of Prāgjyotiṣa being the name of the kingdom in the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla (11th century A.D.) cf.

प्रागज्योतिषेषु दुर्जयाख्यं पुरमध्यवास (line 40).

(7) In the Gachtal grant of Gopāla (Verse 8) we have a queer description of the capital city (*rājadhānī*) of Naraka. The ramparts of the city are said to be acquainted with the waves of the eastern sea (पूर्वाब्धिबीचीनिचयपरिचितं वप्रमुञ्चैर्वहन्ती). How could the city of Prāgjyotiṣa extend up to the sea? This is possible either if we take the term पूर्वाब्धि to mean the river Brahmaputra, which is also referred to as the लौहियसिन्धु (as in the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla), or if we suppose that the poet made a confusion between Prāgjyotiṣa, the capital city of Naraka's time and Prāgjyotiṣa the kingdom of his own time. Pitāmbara Siddhānta-vāgīśa

(16th/17th century) in his *Tirthakaumudī* (Ms preserved in the Kāmarūpa Sanskrita Sañjivanī Sabhā Library, Nalbari) asserts that Prāgjyotiṣa is not just another name for Kāmarūpa. He identifies Prāgjyotiṣapura with Poḍākāur, describing the latter as a capital of the mlecchas. But Poḍākāur yet remains to be precisely identified.

कर्णसुवर्ण—It was a second capital city of King Bhāskaravarman during the period c. 610 to c. 650 A.D. The ruins of Kārṇasuvarṇa “have been recently discovered at Rājbarīdāngā, six miles south-west of Berhampur, headquarters of the Murshidabad district.” (R. C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 7.) Kārṇasuvarṇa is now a station of the Eastern Rly. at a distance of 192 Km. from Howrah.

हड़पेश्वर—The city of Haḍapeśvara used to be called Haḍappeśvara or Haṭappeśvara also. It is doubtful if it was identical with what is called Haḍapyaka in the Gachthal grant of Gopāla. Haḍapeśvara appears to have been the capital city of Harjara, Vanamāla and Balavarman, all of whom belonged to the family of Śālastambha. The proximity of the city to the river Lauhitya is duly emphasised in the grants of Vanamāla and Balavarman. It is almost definite that Haḍapeśvara was located at the site of the modern Tezpur town on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra. (Vide *Śāsanāvalī*, Intr. p. 22). Balavarman describes it as his ancestral city (पैतामहं कटकम्). The term पैतामहं literally means that it belonged to his grand-father. If we take the term in a strictly literal sense then it would imply that Haḍapeśvara became a notable city only from the days of his grand-father Vanamāla. If, however, the term is taken in a loose sense then it would imply that Haḍapeśvara was his ancestral city probably since the days of Śālastambha, and more probably since the days of his great grand-father Harjara. The term *Kaṭaka* is significant. It means a ‘military camp’ or a ‘capital city’. This term tends to suggest that during the time of Harjara it was a military camp turned into administrative head-quarters (*skandhāvāra*), but by the time of Balavarman it became a full-fledged capital, well fortified with the army (*kaṭaka*). P. C. Choudhury opines that “Kaṭaka here does not stand for the permanent capital city” (*HCPA*, p. 216) and “Haḍappeśvara was only a temporary residence of the family of Śālastambha, and Prāgjyotiṣa remained the capital not only of Śālastambha family but also of the Pālas themselves”. (*HCPA*, p. 231). But this view does not seem to be tenable, because in all the inscriptions of all the three kings of the Śālastambha family there is a marked absence of any reference to Prāgjyotiṣa as the main capital city. When in the inscription of Vanamāla, Śālastambha is described as ‘the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa’, the name Prāgjyotiṣa seems to stand for the whole kingdom and not for the capital city, though it is believed to be so by P. C. Choudhury (*HCPA*, p. 216). If Haḍapeśvara would have been merely a temporary residence and not the main capital then it would

not have been possibly described so richly as is done in the lines 33 ff of the Parbatīyā grant (and the corresponding passage of the Tezpur grant) of Vanamāla.

दुर्जया—In the inscriptions of Ratnapāla and Indrapāla of the Pāla family the name of the capital city is given as Durjjayā. These inscriptions also invariably present a homage to the river Lauhitya. It is reasonably believed that Durjjayā was identical with the old city of Prāgyotiṣa. (KŚ. Intr. p. 26; HCPA, p. 230). It appears that Durjjayā did not continue as the capital city for long, because in the Gachtal grant of Gopāla, son of Indrapāla, we get the name of the holy city of Haḍapyaka instead of that of Durjjayā. (Cf. हडप्यकेति पुण्या पुरी)

हडप्यक—If we take Haḍapyaka to be identical with Haḍapeśvara, it becomes difficult to explain as to why Gopāla should have abandoned the paternal city of Durjjayā and gone back to a city founded by a different family. We could take Haḍapyaka as an entirely different and new city. But that conclusion is rendered difficult by the very recent discovery of the Śaratbari grant of Ratnapāla. I am given to learn by Dr. P. C. Choudhury that the name Haḍapyaka occurs in line 26 of the said grant and the same city is referred to once again in line 36 by the name Haḍapeśvara. The context in which the names Haḍapyaka and Haḍapeśvara occur in this grant is, however, not known to me. At this stage we may conjecture only that Haḍapyaka was identical with Haḍapeśvara and the same continued to be a second seat of government for the kings of the Pāla family who ruled from Durjjayā. Gopāla's grant refers to Haḍapyaka as a holy city possibly because of all the temples that are found, even today, at and around Tezpur.

कामरूपनगर—In the first two grants of Dharmapāla, there is no reference to any capital city. It is also significant that in none of the grants of Dharmapāla there is any reference to the river Brahmaputra. In the third, i.e., the Puṣpabhadra grant (V. 20) it is stated that Dharmapāla ruled at Kāmarūpanagara. N. N. Vasu places this Kāmarūpanagara in Rangpur. (Vide *Social History of Kāmarūpa*, Vol. I. p. 174). P. N. Bhattacharya believes that this city was not characterised by any proximity with the river Brahmaputra. In his opinion the Kāmarūpanagara may be identified with the city of Kamatāpur, the ruins of which could be seen at a place 14 miles south-west of the modern Cooch-behar town in West Bengal. (KŚ. Intr. pp. 29-34) K. L. Barua, however, surmises that 'the capital named Kāmarūpanagar, the "city of Kāmruḍ" of the Muslim chroniclers, was at North-Gauhati near the temple of Aśvakrānta.' (EHK. p. 93). P. C. Chaudhury, after an examination of the views of N. N. Vasu and P. N. Bhattacharyya concludes that the 'city of Kāmruḍ' of the Muslim writers, to which the invaders advanced, can reasonably be identified with a place in North Gauhati, just opposite Prāgyotiṣapura or

Gauhati.⁷ The eastern portion of North Gauhati is still known as Rājduār (the royal gate), indicating that the king's palace was there. Near the same place there is another locality called Rangmahal (the pleasure palace), which is incidently the find-spot of the Puṣpabhadra grant of Dharmapāla.⁵¹ The name Rangmahal tends to imply the situation of a royal capital in that locality.

Lines 67-68 : For the implication of the technical terms, see notes under the C. P. grants of Balavarman III.

⁵¹ See *HCPA*, p. 245, where, however, the name Rangmahal is inadvertently mentioned as Rājmahal.

No. 18. KHANĀMUKH COPPER PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

(First half of the 12th century)

References : P. D. Chaudhuri, *JARS*, VIII, pp. 113-26 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *JARS*, IX pp. 1-3 ; P. Banerjee, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, parts V and VI, January-April 1954, published 1957.

Place and history : The plates were found by Shree Budhu Sut while tilling the ground at Khanāmukh, a village in Barbhagia Mauza of the Nowgong District of Assam. The plates ultimately reached the Assam State Museum through Shri L. M. Som, the then Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong (in 1940 ?)

Description : The charter consists of three copper plates each measuring 9" x 6", held together by a ring, attached to the heart-shaped royal seal, measuring 5" x 3½". The seal, which looks in outline like a falling drop of a thick liquid or a lotus-bud, is divided into two parts by a horizontal line.⁵² The upper part contains the figure of an elephant to front and the lower half contains the legend in three lines reading :

- १ । स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिम-
- २ । हाराजाधिराज श्रीधर्म-
- ३ । पालवर्मदेवः ॥

These letters are slightly larger than the letters of the main text.

The first and the third plates are inscribed only on respective inner sides and the middle plate has writing on both sides. There are 58 lines of writing in four pages at the rate of 16-15-15-12 lines in respective pages.

Language, Script and Orthography : The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are 22 verses and 25 lines of prose (i.e., lines 26-35 and 44-58). The script is Nāgari as it was in the eastern part of India in the 12th century A.D., with some instances of the development of the *r* to a triangular shape, two forms of *anusvāra*, no distinction between *b* and *v*, occasional con-

⁵² The seal is like a miniature boat with a hollow interior wherein the elephant figure to front is in relief. The horizontal line is a miniature wall from the base raised to the level of the lotus- or boat-shaped out-line wall. The legend is also presented in relief.

fusions of sibilants, etc. The letters **झ** (line 8) and **ए** (line 10) have forms very similar to those in the modern Assamese/Bengali script. There are also a number of omissions and commissions and an interesting example of Prakṛtism in line 43. The panegyric was composed by poet Prasthānakalaśa.

Metres : VV. 1-13, Vasantatilakā ; V. 14, Mālinī ; V. 15, Āryā ; VV. 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, Anuṣṭubh ; V. 18, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita. The sixth, the twentieth and the twentyfirs verses have metrical flaws.

TEXT

First Plate : Inner side

1. (९) स्वस्ति । वन्दे तमर्द्धयुवतीश्वरमादिदेवमिन्दीवरोरगफणामणिकर्णपूरं । [उत्तु-
2. झपीन-]⁵³ कुचकुङ्कुमभस्मभिन्नं मृङ्गार⁵⁴ रौद्ररसयोरिव सर्गमेकं⁵⁵ ॥१॥ देवस्य
सूक-
3. रतनोस्त-]नयः पृथिव्यां⁵⁵ । जातो वभूव नृपतिर्नरकाभिधानः । जित्वा
शतक्रतुपुरः[स-
4. रदिक्पती-]नृ यः प्राग्ज्योतिषा⁵⁶ पुरि चिराय ससास⁵⁷ राज्यं⁵⁵ ॥२॥
तस्यात्मजः समभवद्भगद-
5. [त्ना]मा धामाधिको नृपतिर्मौलिनिष्ठपादः । यत्संगरश्रमविसी⁵⁸ ददसीमशौचं⁵⁵
6. [मू-]च्छीं प्रियेव परिरभ्य ररक्ष भोमं⁵⁵ ॥३॥ तस्मिन् महोपतिकुले कुलशैलकल्पः
प्राची-
7. [प-]तिप्रतिकृतिर्नृपतिर्वभूव । श्रीब्रह्मपाल इति विश्रुतनामधेयो ध्येयो द्वि-
8. [षां]गुणवताञ्च⁵⁹ भयानुरागैः ॥४॥ प्रादुर्वभूव सुतरलमनूनधामा श्रीरत्नपा-
9. [ल] इति तस्य यथार्थनामा । यस्यास संगरजितो नृपचक्रमौलिमालाधरे

⁵³ Restorations shown within square brackets are made mostly on the strength of the Subhāṅkarapāṭaka grant.

⁵⁴ Read शृङ्गार.

⁵⁵ The अनुस्वार is almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

⁵⁶ Original प्राग्योतिषा.

⁵⁷ Read शशास.

⁵⁸ Read विषी-

⁵⁹ The झ is almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

10. [च-]रण एव⁶⁰ महीपलक्ष्मीः ॥५॥ तस्यात्मजोजनि पुरन्दरपालनामा धामैकभू-
11. स्स स्रुती युवराज एव⁶⁰ । सायुज्यमाप विधिविपर्ययतः⁶¹ पितृणामुत्पाद्य
साधुचरि [तं]
12. सुतमिन्द्रपालं⁵⁵ ॥६॥ राजा चिराय स महीं⁵⁵ प्रशसास⁶² सम्यक् शक्तित्रय-
प्रथितशौर्यविनि-
13. जितारिः । इष्टैः प्रहृष्टवलभित् क्रतुभिः कृतोनामग्रेसरः स्मर इव प्रमदाजनानां ॥७॥
14. तस्यात्मभूरभवदप्रतिमप्रतापो गोपाल इत्यवनिपालकुलप्रदीपः । यः सीम्नि शौ-
15. र्यधनिनां गुणिनां⁵⁵ वदान्यदाक्षिण्यपुण्यविदुषां वसति स्म लोके ॥८॥ तस्माद्भूव
तनयः पितृ-
16. हर्षपालः श्रीहर्षपाल इति साधुजनोपगीतः । सम्प्राप्य चारुचरितं चिरमाप स [ख्य]-

Second Plate : Obverse

17. सौख्यामृतं कमलया सह भारती यं ॥९॥ सन्तर्पिताः समरभूमिषु येन सश्वत्⁶³
खड्गप्रहारद-
18. लिताहितकुम्भिकुम्भैः । रक्षोगणा (:) प्रचुरफेनविमिश्रमश्रुष्णोष्णमाशु तृषिताः
परितः पिवन्ति ॥१०॥
19. देवस्य तस्य महिषी प्रवरा सतीनामात्मानुरूपकुलजा गिरिजेव शम्भोः । रत्नाभिधा
विविधपुण्य-
20. पवित्रकीर्तिरुत्कीर्य शीतकिरणादिव निर्मिताभूत् ॥११॥ पुत्रस्तयोरभवदम्बुधिमेखलाया
भर्ता भुव-
21. स्त्रिभुवनामरण(')महीपः । श्रोधर्मपाल इति धर्मपरोपि काममर्थञ्च⁵⁹ पालयति
यः प्रसमीक्ष्य का-
22. लं⁵⁵ ॥१२॥ निस्त्रिंश⁶⁴ वातदलितेभविमुक्त⁶⁵ मुक्तापुष्पोपहाररुचिरेषु रणाङ्गनेषु ।
देवः परं⁵⁵ समरसम्भ-
23. वया विहर्तुमेकः श्रिया विजयते सह धर्मपालः ॥१३॥ परिणयति य⁶⁰ एको
भूमिमेकातप-
24. त्नां शरणमुपगतानामेकको यः शरण्यः⁶⁶ । जगति विदितकीर्तिर्धर्मपालाभिधानः

⁶⁰ The ए is very similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

⁶¹ Read विधिपर्ययतः for the sake of metre.

⁶² Read प्रशशास.

⁶³ Read शश्वत्.

⁶⁴ Read निस्त्रिंश.

⁶⁵ In the original and also in the Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka grant we have विमुक्ति.

⁶⁶ Original शरण्यः.

25. स जयति जितवीरारातिचक्रो नरेन्द्रः ॥१४॥ प्रस्थानकलसनान्ना कविना गोवर्णमानवै-
26. घने रचिता प्रशस्तिरमला राज्ञः श्रीधर्मपालस्य ॥१५॥* स्वस्तिप्राग्ज्योतिषा-धिपत्यसंख्याता-
27. प्रतिहृतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षः श्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
28. श्रीमद्धर्षपालवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्-
29. र्ममपालवर्मदेवपादाः कुषलिनः⁶⁷ ॥१६॥ पुरुजीविषयान्तःपातिदिगलण्डीभूम्यपकृष्ट-
30. धान्यद्वि⁶⁸ सहस्रोत्पत्तिकमेरुपाटकभूमौ ॥*॥ यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयक(र)णव्य-
31. वहारिकप्रमुखजनपदान् राजराज्ञीरा[णका] धिकृतानन्यानपि^{68a} राजन्यकराजुपुत्र-राजवल्लभप्र-

Second Plate : Reverse

32. भृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं समादिसन्ति⁶⁹ विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तु-
33. केदारस्थलजलाकरगोप्रचारावष्कराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसीमोद्देशपर्यन्ता हस्तिवन्ध-नौकावन्ध-
34. चौरोद्धरणदाण्डपाशिकौपरिकरनानानिमित्तोत्खेटनहस्यश्चोद्गोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारसज-
35. लस्थलप्रभृतीन् विनिवारितसर्व्वपीडाशासनोकृत्य ॥१७॥ मध्यदेशोद्भवो विप्रो यज्वा वेदाङ्गपा-
36. रगः । योगी रथिक उम्मोकः सर्वशास्त्रविशार⁷⁰द(:) ॥१६॥ काश्यपोसौ⁷¹ यजुर्वेदी कान्वशाखो महामखः ।
37. भग्निष्ठोमादिभिर्यागैर्येनेष्टं बहुधा किल ॥१७॥ तस्मिन्मध्वरधूमतीव्रविकल-व्यालोलपाठान् वदून्
38. क्रीडापञ्जर⁷² संयतः सरिदुरुप्रज्ञानिधानः शुकः । यत्रासीत्⁷³ खलु शिक्षयन् सु-

⁶⁷ In all the three grants of Dharmapāla we have कुषलिनः for कुशलिनः. As pointed out by P. N. Bhattacharya (*Śāsanāvalī*, p. 154), कुषलिनः is also correct.

⁶⁸ Actually *śatsahasra* is intended. See notes. ^{68a} Original धिकृतननन्यापि.

⁶⁹ Read शन्ति.

⁷⁰ The र is triangular in form and almost similar to that of the mod. Assamese/Bengali script.

⁷¹ Read काश्यपोसौ.

⁷² The झ is very similar to that of the mod. Assamese/Bengali script.

⁷³ Original यन्त्रासीत्.

39. दुरलं सं⁵⁵स्मारयन् शारिका भासन् यत्र⁷⁴च लज्जिताः पुनरपि⁷⁵विप्राश्रितं⁵⁵
श्रुतिवजः ॥१८॥
40. तस्य सुनुरभृद्वीरः शस्त्रशास्त्र⁷⁶परायणः । नास्त्रा विष्णुरिति ख्यातो भुवि विष्णुरि-
41. वापरः ॥१९॥ शम्भोरभूद्यथा गौरी लक्ष्मीरिव हरेः प्रिया । तस्यासीन्मनोरमा
नाम मधुराख्या^{76a}
42. मनस्विनी ॥२०॥ ताभ्यामजायत सुतः श्रीमान् महाबाहु रिति विश्रुतः । मीमांसा-
भ्यासनिःशेष-
43. दोषप्रोसित^{76b}मानसः ॥२१॥ राज्ञा श्रीधर्मपालेन राज्ये प्रथमवच्छरे धान्यषट्-
सत्तिका⁷⁷भूमि-
44. ईत्ता तस्य द्विजन्मनः ॥२२॥ ❀ अस्याः सीमा पूर्व्वेण हाक्केवट्टिभूः फेट्टिसिम्मलि-
दिगलपडीभूः
45. मेरुपाटकधान्य⁷⁸षट्सहस्राणि भट्टमहाबाहुभुज्यमानानि । पुरुज्यां पूर्व्वेण संखु-
पाटकभूमौ
46. क्षेत्रालि वटवृक्षसहसीमा । दक्षिणेन अर्जापाटकी भूमौ तद्वक्त्रेण भल्लाचणवृक्षसीमा
47. × × × × सीमा दक्षिणेन × × × × भूमि वृहदालिः अश्वत्थ(वृक्ष) सीमा
48. पश्चिमेन खण्डापाटकी भूमिसहसीमा वृहदालिः तद्वक्त्रेण जतोदीपं स्वयम्भूदेव(स)
49. हसीमा क्षेत्रालि(:) । उत्तरेण देवनाथशत्क⁷⁹सासन⁸⁰सहसीमा अश्वत्थवृक्ष(:) ॥
तद्वक्त्रेण खागाली-
50. भूमिसहसीमा । तदुत्तरेण पञ्चापाटकभूमौ जड्मकाजोल(') दक्षिणपाटक इति ।
एवमपरखण्ड-
51. परखण्डदिगलण्डीमेरुपाटकसीमाः । पूर्व्वेण चोक्रापाटककुमारसत्कशासनपश्चिम-
52. पाटकः । कण्टाफलवृक्षपुष्करिणी⁸¹ वटवृक्षसहसीमा । पञ्चावाणदक्षिणपाटक(:)
तद्व-

⁷⁴ Original यन्त्र.

⁷⁵ Original पुनरसि.

⁷⁶ Original शास्त्रशास्त्र,

^{76a} Original नेधुराख्या.

^{76b} Original प्रोषित.

⁷⁷ Actually षट्सहस्रिका is intended. This shows that धान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिक of line 30 is a mistake.

⁷⁸ The न्य has been left out in the original.

⁷⁹ Read सत्क.

⁸⁰ Read शासन.

⁸¹ Read पुष्करिणी. In the Puspabhadra grant we have the word in the correct form. But in all the available grants of the earlier kings the word is given as पुष्करिणी.

53. क्रेण भावदेवपुष्करिणी⁸² उत्तरपाटक (:) कोञ्जली विडिवृहदालि (:) तदुत्तरे-
 54. ण। पश्चिमेन मधुमथनशत्क⁸³शासनपुरपुत्तभूमौ⁸⁴सहसीमा वृहदालि (:) त-
 55. तो दक्षिणेन वटवृक्षसहसीमा। ततो दक्षिणेन पाञ्चाकभूमिमौसरोलजोल-
 56. उत्तरपाटक (:)। पूर्व्वेण वलभद्रपुष्करिणी⁸²उत्तरपाटकसहसीमा। तत (:) पूर्व्वेण चोक्कापाट-
 57. कभूसिम्नि जोलपश्चिमपाटक (:)। वृहदालि (:)। साहदाजोटकवृक्षः दिगलपडी भूमोकम-
 58. ण्डलगोत्रस्य श्रीदांडु पश्चिमे एकाङ्शः (:)।

TRANSLATION

First Plate : Inner Side

Line 1 (After the auspicious symbol) :⁸⁵ Let there be welfare to all.

I salute to that (celebrated god) Ardhayuvaśvara, who is the foremost of all gods, who wears a blue lotus (*indīvara*) and the jewel of the hood of the snake as the ornament of the (respective) ears, whose person is besmeared with saffron, applied to the large and high breast, and with ashes, and who is, as it were, the only embodiment (i.e., creation) of both the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) sentiment and the sentiment of anger (*Raudrarasa*). (v. 1)

A king named Naraka was the son of the god (*Viṣṇu*) who assumed the form of a Boar; he took his birth on the earth (and also from the mother Earth) and he, having defeated the lords of the directions beginning with Śatakratu (i.e., Indra) ruled over his kingdom for a long time from the city of Prāgiyotiṣa. (v. 2)

Of him was born a son of great splendour named Bhagadatta. His feet used to be brushed by the heads of the kings. Bhīma of endless valour, who got run down by the strain of a battle with him was saved by unconsciousness embracing him like a wife. (v. 3)

In that royal family there happened to be a king, of the celebrated name Brahmapāla, who was like a *Kulācala* and was similar to Indra. He was thought of by the enemies, and by the accomplished persons as well, with fear and admiration respectively. (v. 4)

To him was born a best of best sons (literally a jewel amongst sons), who had enormous lusture and was befittingly named Śrī Ratnapāla.

⁸² Read पुष्करिणी.

⁸³ Read सत्क.

⁸⁴ Possibly भूमि- was intended.

⁸⁵ Presumably in the corroded portion of the plate there occurred the *āṇi* symbol.

The Royal Fortune used to lie at his feet, which have been holding a garland in the form of the heads of the circle of kings, defeated in the battle field. (v. 5)

Of him was born a son named Purandarapāla. He was the sole abode of splendour and the performer of pious deeds. He got united with his ancestors while yet a prince, owing to the irony of fate, after giving birth to a son named Indrapāla, who was of noble character. (v. 6)

That king properly ruled the earth for a long time. He vanquished the enemy by dint of his might, which was increased with the three *śaktis*. He became the foremost among the successful persons by performing sacrifices which gladden Indra. To the damsels he was like Kāmadeva. (v. 7)

His son was Gopāla, who was matchless in power and was a light of the family of kings. On this earth he is to be recognised at the top of the men having might as the wealth, of the meritorious persons, and of those who are aware of the merit arising out of munificence. (v. 8)

From him was born a son named Śrī Harṣapāla who was a source of sustained joy for his father, and whose name used to be sung by the noble men. After finding this (Harṣapāla of) noble character, Sarasvatī (i.e., Bhārati, the goddess of learning) enjoyed the nectar of pleasure caused by a long sustained friendship with Lakṣmī (i.e., the goddess of fortune). (v. 9)

In the battlefields he, by breaking with weapons the foreheads of the enemy elephants, repeatedly made offering of drinks to the demons on all sides, who being thirsty drank up hurriedly the lukewarm blood mixed up with a profuse quantity of froth. (v. 10)

That king had a queen, who was the foremost among the chaste wives; she was born in a family of a (high) status like that of his own, just as Girijā (literally, born of the Himālaya mountain) was in relation to Śambhu. She was named Ratnā. She was endowed with a pure fame earned by virtue of various merits. She was, as it were, created by chiselling out the cold rayed moon. (v. 11)

Their son was king Śrī Dharmapāla, who was the lord of the earth girdled by the oceans and the ornament of the three worlds; though he was devoted to *Dharma* he also protected the cause of *Kāma* and *Artha* in proper time. (v. 12)

In the battlefield beautiful with flower-like pearls struck off from the (heads of) elephants killed by the blows of the sword, king Dharmapāla alone remained victorious to sport with the goddess of wealth born of the battle. (v. 13)

Let that king, Dharmapāla by name, who alone has made this earth to be governed by one king only and as the only shelter of the refugees, whose fame is well-known throughout the world, and who is the vanquisher of the enemy heroes, be prosperous. (v. 14)

This faultless panegyric of king Dharmapāla has been composed by the poet Prasthānakalaśa, who is an expert in respect of the letters and the measurements suitable for the speech. (v. 15)

Let there be welfare! the Prameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious and honourable king Dharmapālavarman, who is well-known by his lordship over Prāgjyotiṣa, whose rule is unobstructed, who is the destroyer of the countless flanks of enemies, who meditates on the feet of Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Harṣapālavarmadeva (belonging to the family of) Śrī Varāha (i.e., Śrī Viṣṇu) reigns with prosperity, and with reference to the territory of the hamlet of Meru yielding 2000 (units of) paddy, sliced out of (or extending upto) the territory of Digalaṇḍī (situated) in the district of Purujī, pays his due compliments to the people of the countryside beginning with the Viṣayakaraṇa and the Vyāvahārika and others like Rājās, Rājāns and Rānakas and also others like the Rājanyakas, Rājaputras and Rājavallabhas, who are present now, and also to all those who will happen to be in future time in the respective positions, and commands :—(lines 26-32).

Be it known to you that this land, along with its houses, paddy-fields, dry lands, wells⁸⁶, grazing grounds, refuse lands, etc. lying as it is within its boundaries and freed in respect of waters and lands etc. from all troubles on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishment, the tenant's taxes, the duties due to different causes and grazing of animals such as elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep as recorded in this charter.⁸⁷ (lines 32-35)

There was a Brāhmin named Ummoka, born in the Madhyadeśa, who was a performer of sacrifices, proficient in the Vedāṅgas, used to the practice of Yoga, who held the post of a Rathika and was versed in all the śāstras. (v. 16)

He belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was a follower of the Kāṇvaśākhā of the Yajurveda and a great performer of sacrifices, who indeed performed numerous sacrifices like the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice. (v. 17)

In that place (i.e., in the Madhyadeśa) when the Brāhmin boys happened to confuse the text (of the Vedas) being perturbed by the heavy smoke of the sacrificial fires, the parrot, confined within a toy-cage, possessed of an intellect as deep and long as a river, guided them by reminding the texts repeatedly and thoroughly by the way of reminding

⁸⁶ Finding the word आकर only in the Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka grant (line 35) P. N. Bhattacharya conjectures that there might have been some mine in the donated land (KŚ, p. 155, n. 7). But as this term occurs also in the present grant we prefer to read जलाकर as a single word meaning a well. (Vide Apte's Dictionary).

⁸⁷ Connect this with verse 22 below.

the she parrot and (as a result) the sacrificing Brāhmins also were put to shame for such a long time. (v. 18)

He had a heroic son interested in the weapons and the śāstras alike, whose name was Viṣṇu, and he was like another Viṣṇu belonging to the earth. (v. 19)

As Āurī was a beloved wife to Śambhu and Lakṣmī was to Viṣṇu, there was to him also a virtuous wife who was sweetly named Manoramā. (v. 20)

They two had an illustrious son, famous with the name Mahābāhu, whose mind was free from all blemishes on account of regular studies of Mīmāṃsā. (v. 21)

King Śhrī Dharmapāla has given (that) land yielding six thousand units of paddy to that Brāhmin in the first year of his reign. (v. 22)

Its boundaries are as follows :—On the east there are the plot of land of Hakkevaṭṭi, the land of Phettasimmalidighalaṇḍi and the hamlet of Meru yielding six thousand units of paddy enjoyed by Bhaṭṭa Mahābāhu. On the east of Puruḍi the ridge of the fields along with the banyan tree lying on the land of Śāṅkhupāṭaka is the boundary. On the south there is the Bhallācana tree in the land of the hamlet of Arjja at the bend - - - (lines 44-46).

To the south the land of - - - and the large ridge of field along with the Aśvattha (banyan) tree is the boundary. To the west there is the land of the Khaṇṭāpāṭakī and a large ridge at the bend of which there is the Jatodīpa (island of Jato?) and the plot of Svayambhūdeva; the ridge of the field also forms the boundary. On the north there are the chartered land of Devanāthasatka and the Aśvattha tree and at the bend there is the plot of Khāgāli. To the north of it there are the Jaḍmakā-stream in the land of Pañcāpāṭaka, and also the Dakṣiṇapāṭaka. In this way the boundaries of the other part consisting of Digalaṇḍi and Merupāṭaka are as follows—To the east there are the Cokkāpāṭaka, the Paścimapāṭaka chartered for Kumārasatka, a jack-fruit tree, a pond, a Vāṭa-tree, and the Pannāvānadaksina pāṭaka. To the bend of it there are the pond of Bhavadeva, the Uttarapāṭaka, the large ridge of Koñcaliviḍi lying to its north. To the west the boundary is formed by the large ridge lying in the plot called Puraputta chartered for Madhumathana. To the south the boundary is formed by a Vāṭa-tree. To the south of it there are the plot of Pāñcāka, the stream of Mausarola and the hamlet of Ulottara. To the east there is the pond of Valabhadra and the Uttarapāṭaka. Then to the east of it at the boundary of the land of Cokkāpāṭaka there are the hamlet of Jolapaścima, a large ridge, the Sāhadājotaka tree and the land of Śrī Daṇḍu belonging to the Maṇḍala family and the land of Digalaṇḍi. To the west there is one part - - - (lines 47-58)

NOTES

General :

(1) Two more CP grants of king Dharmapāla have come to light and they are presented hereafter. The present CP grant is the earliest of all the 3 grants having been issued in the first year of the reign of Dharmapāla. (vide line 43).

The text of the present grant up to *Kuśalinah* (line 29) is common with the text of the second grant of Dharmapāla, viz. the Śubhaṅkara Pāṭaka grant, issued in the third year of the reign of the king, up to line 30.

(2) Of all the Kāmarūpa inscriptions, this one for the first time gives a maṅgala verse in name of the Ardhayuvatiśvara form of Śiva. This very maṅgala verse occurs also in the Śubhaṅkara Pāṭaka grant. The concept of the Ardhanārīśvara (i.e., Ardhayuvatiśvara) form of Śiva is a more developed form of the concept of the dual of Śiva-śakti, being more suggestive of the *advaita tattva* (i.e., the concept of non-duality). In the Śiva-śakti symbolism we have two very close but distinct figures and we find that "gazing with a deep and everlasting rapture, they are imbued with the secret knowledge that, though seemingly two, they are fundamentally one." (Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 137). Literary evidences like *Raghuvamśa* I, 1, show that the god and the goddess in this form are to be referred to in dual number (cf. *jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparamēśvarau*). But in the Ardhanārīśvara symbolism we have only one deity having both male and female features. "Here the antagonistic principles unite to constitute a single organism, a paradox, representative of the intrinsically two-fold nature of the one-fold universe and its inhabitant, man." (Zimmer, *Ibid*, p. 216). It is significant that in the present maṅgala verse we have reference to the deity in singular number. In Zimmer's book there is a very beautiful painting of Shiva-Ardhanārī of the Kāngrā school of early XIX century A.D. (vide figure 70) which very much agrees with the poetical description given in our inscription. In Assam, so far only one composite figure of Ardhanārīśvara has been found as forming the central figure of a frieze of stone, 5'3" long by 1'6" deep in a place called Maṭharbari as noticed by R. M. Nath in the *JARS*, Vol. VI, pp. 35 f. But, in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, an entire chapter (ch. 45 in the Chowkhamba ed.) containing 189 verses, and entitled *Ardhanārīśvaracarita*, is devoted to the description, significance, and the episode connected with the origin of this form of the deity.

(3) *On the text and translation* :—Prior to P. Banerjee, फणामणिकर्णपुरं in line 1 has been read by the earlier scholars as फणामणिकण्डवन्धं. But

even on literary ground it is more consistent to read it as a description of the ear-ornament. Because, it is not warranted by poetic convention to describe 'a side' of the neck to be adorned with a blue lotus.

Since the text of the present C.P. up to *Kuśalinaḥ* in line 29 is identical with that of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant up to the same word in line 30, we may suppose the translation of the text of the present C.P. up to line 29 to have been given earlier also by P. N. Bhattacharya in Bengali in *KŚ.* pp. 159-63 and in English by K. L. Barua in *EHK*, Appendix III.

Line 1 : For notes on the initial auspicious *āñjī* sign see above under the Tezpur grant of Vanamālavarman.

Verse 3 : Being struck by Bhagadatta Bhīma had a fit, and as he was lying unconscious the great hero of Kāmarūpa left him unkilld. cf. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, 64, 51-54.

Verse 4 : Kulācala is the common term to mean any one of the seven traditionally celebrated principal mountains enumerated in the verse :

महेन्द्रो मलयः सद्यः शुक्तिमान् ऋक्षपर्वतः ।
विन्ध्यश्च परियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥

Prācīpati is an epithet of Indra. Indra, as one of the eight dikpālas (or masters of the quarters), is the lord of the eastern quarter (*prācī dik*). Cf.

इन्द्रो वह्निः पितृपतिर्नैऋतो वरुणो मरुत् ।
कुबेर ईशः पतयः पूर्वादीनां दिशां क्रमात् ॥

(*Amarakośa*, Svargavarga, II. 5).

Verse 5 : *Sutaratna* : *Ratna* here means any thing best in its class. Hence, *sutaratna*, means the best of sons. Cf. जातौ जातौ यदुत्कृष्टं तद्वत्तमभिधीयते (Mallinātha on Kālidāsa). For *nṛpacakramaulimālādhare carane*, Cf.

विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरचनाविन्यस्तपादाम्बुजं
संख्येसंख्यवलं व्यजेष्ट गतभीर्यश्चेदिराजं हठात् ॥

(V. 28. Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Chandella Yaśovarman. Vide, Raj Bali Pandey, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*, p. 193).

Verse 6 : *Vidhiviparyayataḥ*—There is a metrical fault because of the letter *vi* given in excess here. *Paryaya* instead of *viparyaya* also

means 'revolution' or 'change', implying 'a freak of fortune' in the above phrase. For the use of *paryaya* cf. *Manusamhitā*, I. 30; XI. 27, etc. This fault occurs also in v. 6 of the Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka C.P.

*Verse 7 : Śaktitraya :—*The three parts or elements of the regal power, viz. *prabhuśakti* (the majesty or pre-eminent power of the king himself), *mantraśakti* (the power of good counsel), and *utsāhaśakti* (power of energy). Cf. *Kīrātārjunīya*, II. 37, *Śiśupālavadha*, II. 26; 89. etc.

balabhīt : The Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka grant, as edited by P. N. Bhattacharyya (*KŚ*, p. 152) also reads *balabhīt*, which being an equivalent of *Balārāti* (literally, the enemy of the demon Bala), an epithet of Indra, as given in the *Amarakośa*, may mean Indra with the etymology, *balam bhinatti iti*.

For the idea of Indra being gladdened with the performance of sacrifices, cf. the poetic convention as given also in

यज्ञाम्निधूयैः परितोषितेन्द्रस्तस्मादभूवन्बहवो नरेन्द्राः ।

राज्ये न येषां विररामवृष्टिर्विवक्षनारीनयनाम्बुवाहैः ॥

(V. 7, Goharwa Plate of Karnaḍadeva, V.S. 1047. Vide *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 139 f. and V. 7 at *HLL*, p. 211).

Verse 9 : This verse describes how Śrī Harṣapāla could put at rest the traditional conflict between Lakṣmī (goddess of fortune) and Sarasvatī (goddess of learning). Cf.

सत्काव्यश्रीविरोधान् बुधगुणितगुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा

विद्वल्लोकेऽविनाशिस्फुटबहुकविताकीर्तिराज्यं भुनक्ति ॥ (Verse 3b :

Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, *HLL*, p. 72).

परस्परविरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का ।

संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्तितम् ॥ (Bhagari Stone

Inscription of Chandella Madanavarman, *Ep. Ind.* I, p. 209) and

यत्र श्रीश्च सरस्वती च सहिते नीतिक्रमो विक्रम-

स्तेजः सत्त्वगुणोज्ज्वलं परिणता क्षान्तिश्च नैसर्गिकी ॥ (V. 19,

Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Chandella Yaśovarman, *HLL*, p. 192).

bhārāṭiyam, should be read as two distinct words, *bhārāṭi yam*.

Verse 10 : The idea of the *rākṣasas*' drinking the blood of those killed in the battle-field was a favourite convention for the poets, cf. पीतासृक्षोवरक्षःप्रमदकलकलहादरौद्रप्रहासे etc. v. 27, Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Chāndella Yaśovarman. Vide *HLL*, p. 193.

Verse 11 : उत्कीर्य शीतकिरणादिव निर्मिताभूत् has an *Utprekṣā* *alaṃkāra*. For a similar imagery cf. the following celebrated verse from *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, II.

हिरण्मयी शाललतेव जङ्गमा च्युता दिवःस्थास्तुरिवाचिरप्रभा ।

शशाङ्कान्तेरधिदेवताकृतिः सता ददे तस्य सताय मैथिली ॥ (२.४७)

The present imagery is suggestive of an agreeableness or easy accessibility of the queen and is very appropriate in view of the queen's having a pure fame (*pavitrakīrti*), which, according to an established poetic convention (*kavisamaya*), is invariably said to be white in colour : cf.

मालिन्यं व्योम्नि पापे यशसि धवलता वर्ण्यते हासकीर्त्योः ।

(*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII)

For गिरिजेव शम्भोः cf. v. 5 in Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva. (Vide *HLL*, p. 225 f.)

Verse 12 : That Dharmapāla was devoted to *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* at the same time is in full consonance with the teaching :

धर्मार्थकामाः सममेव सेव्या यो ह्येकासक्तस्स नरो जघन्यः ।

(*Mahābhārata*, *Sānti*, 167-40)

Dharma, *Artha* and *Kāma* together are called *trivarga* or *trigaṇa*. cf. त्रिवर्गो धर्मकामार्थैश्वर्यवर्गः समोक्षकैः (अमरकोष) cf. also *Kirātārjunīya*, I, 11. for Duryodhana's equal attention to the *trigaṇa*. Compare also *Raghuvamśa*, 17-57.

Verse 15 : कविना गोवर्णमानवेद्येनः—These epithets of *Prasthānakalaśa* occur also in the *Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka* grant of Dharmapāla. P. N. Bhattacharyya gives the translation in Bengali as गोवर्णमानाभिज्ञ कवि and explains in the foot-note that *go* means speech or sentence in the form of prose or verse, *varṇa* means letters, *māna* means measure and *vaidya* means a scholar or an adept in the lore. The whole expression implies one who is adept in the act of applying a measured number of letters (or letters of a measured length) in both prose and verse compositions. Distinction of measure of letters as *laghu* and *guru* is wellknown so far as verse is concerned. In prose also the same may be discerned, as pointed out in the

5th *maṅgala* verse of the *uttarabhāga* of the *Kādambarī*, (vide, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 161). The word *go*, generally meaning 'cow', also means 'speech' as in the present case. The origin of this significance of the word *go* (a synonym of *dhenu*) may be traced back to the Upaniṣadic tradition of symbolising speech as a cow. cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 5-8-1 (vide *Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 295), or still earlier to *Rgveda*, 4-58-3.⁸⁸ The translation given by K. L. Barua⁸⁹ reads : "the poet Prasthānakalaśa who is expert in both prose and verse composition", and it seems to be based on the foot-note of P. N. Bhattacharya. But the translation is not faithful to the text. On the strength of the context the expression seems to bring home the idea that the poet possessed an expert knowledge of letters and the measurements (i.e., metres) of the speech. For the meaning of the word *go* as speech, cf. *Raghuvamśa*, 2-59,⁹⁰ 5-12; *Kirātārjunīya*, 4-20, etc. In support of 'a learned man' as the meaning of '*vaidya*', P. N. Bhattacharyya also quotes the following from the *Śabdakalpadrūma* (vide *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 150) :

पण्डितः यथा कात्यायनः—

नाविद्यानान्तु वैद्येन देयं विद्याधनं कश्चित् ।

समविद्याधिकानान्तु देयं वैद्येन तद्धनम् ।

वैद्येन विदुषा इति दायतत्त्वम् ।

Another probable translation of the expression *govarṇamāna-vaidyena*, though not warranted by the context, is 'by a physician, expert in respect of the colour and standard of the cows'. Presumably with such a rendering in his mind, B. K. Barua examines if the term *Vaidya* here could mean a caste. (See *CHA*, p. 124).

Line 27 : Śrī varāha : The intended and correct reading is *Śrīvārāha* (as given by P. N. Bhattacharyya in the case of the *Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka* grant) meaning 'one connected with the Boar incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, i.e. belonging to the family of *Śrivarāha*'.

Line 29 : Puruṣīviṣaya : It is undoubtedly identical with the *Pūrajīviṣaya*, mentioned in the *Puṣpabhadra* grant (line 46). "*Viṣaya* means a district Sometimes a *viṣaya* was included in a

⁸⁸ See also my paper 'Śiva and the science of grammar' in the *JUG*, Vol. XXIV-XXV.

⁸⁹ Translation of the *Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka* grant appended to his *EHK*. (2nd edn. p. 227).

⁹⁰ Under this verse *Chāritravardhana* supplies the gloss "गां वाचमुक्तवते इति कश्चित्".

maṇḍala." (Glossary p. 377). "The exact expanse of territory covered by the term cannot be ascertained from the epigraphs . . . a *viṣaya* consisted of a number of villages or *grāmas*". "Our knowledge of the *viṣayas* of the kingdom (of Kāmarūpa) is by no means complete. However, the following are recorded in the inscriptions : Candrapuri,⁹¹ Dijjinā,⁹² Kalaṅgā,⁹³ Pūrāji,⁹⁴ Trayodaśagrāma,⁹⁵ Hap̄yomā,⁹⁶ Mandi,⁹⁷ Vadā."⁹⁸ (vide, B. K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, 2nd edition, p. 58).

digalaṇḍibhūmyapakṛṣṭa : For understanding this expression cf. *Olindāpakṛṣṭa* in the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant and *Digdolavṛddhagrāma-bhūmyapakṛṣṭa* in the Puṣpabhadra grant. D. C. Sircar gives *apakṛṣṭa*=distant (Glossary, p. 25). Here it may mean 'extending up to' giving the meaning of the whole expression as 'extending up to the land of (the village) Digalaṇḍī'. But more probably it means 'sliced out of', giving the meaning that the Merupāṭaka consisted of a territory of land cut out from the land of Digalaṇḍī. Cf. line 35 in Guvākuchi grant and line 53 in the Bargāon grant. While making a reference to उत्तरकूले मन्दिविषयान्तःपातिपण्डरीभूमितोऽपकृष्टधान्यद्वि-सहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमि of the Guvākuci grant of Indrapāla, D. C. Sircar and P. D. Chaudhury take the word *apakṛṣṭa* as an adjective of *bhūmi* and give the translation of the two words taken together as "the land of an inferior quality." (Ep. Ind. XXIX, No. 20, p. 151). But such an explanation is not suitable to the context of a gift and might have been given inadvertently.

Line 30 : *dhānyadvisahasrotpattika*; what is intended is *ṣaṭsahasrotpattika*; cf. the text in verse 22.

Line 30 : *pāṭaka*=a hamlet. cf. Glossary, p. 242.

Line 30 to Line 35 : The portion from *yathāyatham* to *śāsanikṛtya* in line 35 is similar, with very few minor differences, to the relevant portions of the Nowgong C.P. grant of Balavarman III, the Bargāon C.P. grant of Ratnapāla, the Suvākuci C.P. grant of Ratnapāla,

⁹¹ Nidhanpur C.P. grant.

⁹² Nowgong grant of Balavarman, Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla.

⁹³ Suvākuci grant of Ratnapāla.

⁹⁴ Puṣpabhadra and Khanāmukh grants of Dharmapāla.

⁹⁵ Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla.

⁹⁶ Gauhati grant of Indrapāla.

⁹⁷ Guvākuchi grant of Indrapāla.

⁹⁸ Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva.

the Gauhati C.P. grant of Indrapāla, the Guvākuchi C.P. grant of Indrapāla, and the other two C.P. grants of Dharmapāla. For relevant notes see under the grants of Balavarman III.

Verse 18 : *Yatrāsīt*=(literally) where there was (a parrot who used to teach)

muhuralam=Here *alam* means completely or thoroughly as in *arhasyenam śamayitumalam vāridhārāsahasraiḥ* (*Meghadūta*, I.53). for the idea of excess of sacrificial smoke cf. *स्निग्धश्यामाम्बुदामैः स्थगितदिनकृतो यज्वनामाज्यधून्मैः* in v. 8, Mandasor S.P.I. of Yaśodharman. (532 A.D.), and for the idea of the eyes being blinded by the sacrificial smoke cf. *दिष्ट्या धूमाकुलितदृष्टेरपि यजमानस्य पावके एव भाटुतिः पतिता.*

(*Śakuntalā*, iv). For *क्रीडापञ्जरसंयतः शुक्रः* cf. v. 13, Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāladeva. For the description of *vedapāṭha* and sacrificial smoke in the same place cf. the following v. giving a description of Gayā.

वेदाभ्यासपरायणद्विजगणोद्गीर्णोऽग्रपाठक्रमा-

दुच्चैरुच्चरितध्वनिव्यतिकरैर्यन्तावधार्या गिरः ।

किञ्चाजस्त्रितहोमधूसपटलध्वान्तावृतो साम्प्रतं

धम्मो यत्र महाभयादिव कलेः कालस्य सन्तिष्ठते ॥

(v. 3 Gayā S.P.I. of the time of Nayapāladeva, 1038-1055 A.D., vide *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* p. 142). Cf. also v. 16 in the *Subhāṅkarapāṭaka* grant.

Verse 20 : cf. v. 11 above and v. 5 in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla of Bengal. cf. also v. 19 in the *Subhāṅkarapāṭaka* grant.

Verse 22 : *vacchare* is a Prākṛtaisation of *vatsara*, year. cf. mod. As. *vachar(a)*.

No. 19. ŚUBHĀṆKARAPĀTAKA COPPER PLATES

OF DHARMAPĀLA

(First half of the 12th Century)

References : P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 146-67. For a partial translation based on above, K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, Appendix III. p. 226 ff.

Place and History : The find place is not known. This charter is named Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka because the land donated by this charter belonged to a locality called Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka. P. N. Bhattacharyya received these plates, in December 1931, for a few days from K. N. Dikshit, the then Deputy Director of Archaeology, Government of India. K. N. Dikshit, reportedly, received the plates from Shri Sarat Chandra Goswami, son of late Hem Chandra Goswami, a pioneer archaeologist of Assam.^{98a} It could not be gathered as to where and when the plates were discovered and how they came to the hands of the latter. This inscription is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (vide Acc. No. 18314)

Date : The charter has been issued in the 3rd regnal year (vide verse 21, line 48). Since Dharmapāla is assigned to the first half of the 12th century, these plates may be placed very early in the 12th century.

Description : The charter consists of three copper plates, each measuring 9" × 6½" approximately. There are 17 lines in the inner side of the first plate, 16 lines each on either sides of the middle plate and 14 lines in the inner side of the third plate. In total there are 63 lines. Although the script is clear it abounds in omissions and commissions and also spelling mistakes.

This charter has been intended to donate a plot of land yielding 6000 (six thousand) units of paddy in the loca-

^{98a} We are given to learn by P. N. Bhattacharyya (*KŚ*, p. 212f) that, it has been claimed by Late Sonaram Chaudhuri that, the Puṣpabharā plates have been received by Late Hem Chandra Goswami actually from Late Chaudhuri himself. P. N. Bhattacharyya conjectures that the plates claimed to have been handed over by Late Chaudhuri were actually the so called Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka plates.

lity of Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka. Of the land donated, the larger portion, yielding 4000 units of paddy, goes to the elder brother Himāṅga, and the smaller portion yielding 2000 units of paddy goes to the younger brother Trilocana. The plates have been recovered alongwith a broken seal where the upper portion containing the elephant mark is not available. The legend, which seems to have occupied a comparatively smaller area is very clear, and it reads as follows in three lines :

1. स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतीशाधिपतिम-
2. हाराजाधिराजश्रीधर्म-
3. पालवर्मदेवः

Language and script : The language of the charter is Sanskrit and the script is Nāgarī, as it was in the eastern part of India in the 12th century A.D. being obviously same as in the Khanāmukh grant with very slight difference probably owing to difference of scribes.

Some of the notable orthographical peculiarities are as follows :

(i) Reduplication of consonants after *repha* ; (ii) Complete lack of distinction between *b* and *v* ; (iii) Occasional confusions of sibilants ; (iv) Two forms of the *anusvāra* ; (v) Use of *anusvāra* for a final *m*. (vi) Use of *anusvāra* for *ñ* before *g*, for *m* before *bh*, for *ñ* before *j* ; (vii) In place of *anusvāra*, occasional use of *n* before a sibilant.

Poet Prasthānakalaśa was the author of this charter also. The text of the present charter is same with that of the Khanāmukh grant up to (श्रीमद्भूमिपालवर्मपादाः कुशलिनः in line 30, corresponding to line 29 of the Khanāmukh grant. Then again the text is almost same with that of the Khanāmukh grant from यथायथं in line 32 to शासनीकृत्य in line 38, (corresponding to lines 30 and 35 of the Khanāmukh grant). Then there are 7 verses corresponding to the seven verses of the Khanāmukh grant having also an almost similar content and similar imageries. Thus there are equal number of verses in both the charters composed by Prasthānakalaśa.

Metres : vv. 1-13, 18, 20, 21, Vasantatilakā ; v. 14, Mālinī ; v. 15, Āryā ; vv. 16, 22, Anuṣṭubh ; v. 17, Upajāti of Indravajrā (3) and Upendravajrā ; v. 19, Rathoddhatā.

TEXT

First Plate : Reverse

1. [९] स्वस्ति । वन्दे तमर्द्धयुवतीश्वरमादिदेवमिन्दीवरोगफणामणिकर्णपूरं [उत्तु-]⁹⁹

⁹⁹ As conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharya.

2. ज्ञपोनकुचकुङ्कुमभस्मभिन्नं शृङ्गाररौद्रसयोरिव सर्गमेकं¹ ॥१॥ देवस्य शु[कर-]
3. तनोस्तनयः पृथिव्यां जातो वभूव नृपतिर्नरकाभिधानः । जित्वा सतक्रतु²पुरःसरदि-
4. क्पतीन् यः प्राग्ज्योतिषापुरि चिराय ससास³ राज्यं ॥२॥ तस्यात्मजः समभवद्
भगदुत्तनामा धा-
5. माधिको नृपतिमौलिनिघृष्टपादः । यत्संगरश्रमविशी⁴ददसीमशौर्यं मूर्च्छो प्रियेव प-
6. रिरभ्य ररक्ष भीमं ॥३॥ तस्मिन् महीपतिकुले कुलशैलकल्पः प्राचीपतिप्रतिकृतनृप-
7. तिर्व्वभूव । श्रीवत्सपाल इति विश्रुतनामधेयो ध्येयो द्विषां गुणवताञ्च भया-
8. नुरागैः ॥४॥ प्रादुर्व्वभूव⁵ छतरत्नमनूनधामा श्रीरत्नपाल इति तस्य यथा-
9. र्धनामा । यस्यास सङ्गरजितो नृपचक्रमौलिमालाधरे चरण एव महीप-
10. लदमीः ॥५॥ तस्यात्मजोजनि पुरन्दरपालनामा धामैकभृत्स छकृती युवराज ए-
11. व । सायुज्यमाप विधिविपर्य्ययतः⁶पितृणामुत्पाद्य साधुचरितं छतमिन्द्रपा-
12. लं ॥६॥ राजा चिराय स महीं प्रससास⁷ सम्यक् शक्तित्रयप्रथितशौर्य्य-
विनिर्जितारिः । इ-
13. ट्टैः प्रहृष्टवलभित्क्रतुभिः कृतीनामग्रेसरः स्मर इव प्रमदाजनानां ॥७॥ तस्यात्मभू-
14. रभवदप्रतिमप्रतापो गोपाल इत्यवनिपालकुलप्रदीपः । यः सीम्नि शौर्य्यधनिनां
15. गुणिनां वदान्यदाक्षिण्यपुण्यविदुषां वसति स्म लोके ॥८॥ तस्माद्भूव तनयः पितृहर्ष-
16. पालः श्रीहर्षपाल इति साधुजनोपगीतः । सम्प्राप्य चारुचरितं चिरमाप सख्य-
17. सौख्यामृतं कमलया सह भारती यं ॥९॥ सन्तर्पिताः समरभूमिषु येन सश्वत्⁸श
[स्त्र⁹]

Second Plate : Obverse

18. प्रहारदलिताहितकुम्भिकुम्भैः । रक्षोगणाः प्रचुरफेनविमिश्रमश्र¹⁰मुष्णोष्णमाशु
तृषिता(:)

¹ The *anusvāra* here and in many other places is almost similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

² Read शतक्रतु.

³ Read शशास.

⁴ Read विषीदद्

⁵ The original is र्व्वभूव.

⁶ Read विधिपर्य्ययतः, for the sake of metre.

⁷ Read प्रशशास.

⁸ Read शश्वत्

⁹ In the Khanāmukh grant we have read it as खड्ग. श [स्त्र] is the reading given by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

¹⁰ P. N. Bhattacharyya emends it as श्र. But स्त्र is also correct.

19. परितः पिवन्ति ॥१०॥ देवस्य तस्य महिषी प्रवरा सतीनामात्मानुरूपकुलजा गिरिजेव शम्भोः (।)
20. रत्नाभिधा¹¹ विविधपुण्यपवित्रकोर्तिरुत्कीर्ण्य शीतकिरणादिव निर्मिताभूत् ॥११॥ पुत्रस्तयोर-
21. भवदम्बुधिमेखलाया भर्ता भुवस्त्रिभुवनाभरणम्महीपः । श्रीधर्मपाल इति धर्मपरो-
22. पि काममर्थञ्च पालयति यः सुसमीक्ष्य कालं ॥१२॥ निस्त्रिन्स¹² घातदलितेभवि-
मुक्त¹³मुक्तापु-
23. ष्पोपहाररुचिरेषु रणाङ्गणेषु देवः परं समरसंभवया¹⁴ विहर्तुमेकः श्रिया वि-
24. जयते सह धर्मपालः ॥१३॥ परिणयति य एको भूमिमेकातपत्रां शरणमु-
25. पगतानां एको¹⁵ यः शरण्यः । जगति विदितकीर्तिर्द्धर्मपालाभिधानः
26. स जयति जितवीरा(रा)तिचक्रो नरेन्द्रः ॥१४॥ प्रस्थानकलषनाम्ना कविना गोवर्ण-
27. मानवैद्येन । रचिता प्रसस्ति¹⁶रमला राज्ञः श्रीधर्मपालस्य ॥१५॥ स्वस्ति
28. प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवारा-
29. हपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्¹⁷हर्षपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्या-
30. तपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्¹⁷धर्मपालदेवपादाः कुषलिन(:)
31. ॥३॥ दिजिज्ञा¹⁸विषायायान्तःपातिधान्यषट्सहस्रोत्पत्तिक ओलिन्दापकृष्ट¹⁹कंजियाभि-
32. टि सहकर²⁰ पाटकभूमौ²¹ ॥३॥ यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहारिक-
33. प्रमुखजानपदान्²² राजराज्ञी²³ राणाकाधिकृतानन्यानपि²⁴ राजन्यकराज-

¹¹ Original रत्नाभिधाना.

¹² Read निस्त्रिंश.

¹³ Original विमुक्ति.

¹⁴ In the Khanāmukh grant we have सम्भवया. Thus we do not have complete uniformity in respect of the orthographical norms.

¹⁵ Read पगतानामेको.

¹⁶ Read प्रशस्ति.

¹⁷ Original श्रीमत्.

¹⁸ Possibly what is intended is दिज्जिन्ना. In line 51 there is the reference to a river named दिज्जिन्ना. Cf. Nowgong grant of Balavarman, line 33.

¹⁹ Original ओलिन्दोमपकृष्ट. Cf. lines 46 and 54.

²⁰ It is the Prākṛtisised form of शुभकर.

²¹ After भूमौ there is a redundant visarga.

²² Original जनपदान्.

²³ Original राज्ञि.

²⁴ Original राणाकादिकृत्यानन्यानपि.

Second Plate : Reverse

34. पुत्र । राजव(ल)भ²⁵ प्रभृतोन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्वान्²⁶ माननापूर्वकं
समादिसन्ति²⁷ वि-
35. दितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदार । स्थलजलाकर²⁸ । गोप्रचाराद्युपेता²⁹
यथा स()स्था ।
36. स्वसीमापर्यन्ता । हस्तिबन्ध । नौकाबन्ध । चौरोद्धरण । दाण्डपाशिकौपरिकर³⁰ ।
नाना नि-
37. मित्तोत्खेतन । हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रगोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारसजलस्थलप्रभृतीन(i) विनिवारि-
38. तसर्वपीडा शासनीकृत्य ॥३३॥ ग्रामः क्रोसञ्जनामास्ति श्रावस्त्यां यत्र यज्वनां ।
होमभू-
39. मान्धकारान्धं नाविशत् कलिकलमपं ॥३६॥ तत्सम्भवानां प्रवरो³¹ द्विजानामुदारधीः
कौथुम-
40. शाखमुख्यः । रामोपमः सामविदामखण्ड्यः शाण्डिल्यगोत्रोजनि राम-
41. देवः ॥३७॥ तस्याभवद्भरत इत्यभिभूतपापः शा(क्यो) पमः शमदमप्रसवैकभू-
42. मिः । षट्कर्मकर्ममठतया विरतोशुभेभ्यः सम्यः सतां³² गुणवतान्तिलकस्त-
43. नूजः ॥३८॥ रोहिणीव हिमदीधिते³³ रभूत् पार्वतीव दयितान्धकद्विषः । पा-
44. उकेति सहधर्मचारिणी सचरित्र³⁴ गुणशीलधारिणी ॥३९॥ निःशेषसौष्ठवपदप्रभृति-
45. क्रियावानभ्यस्तचित्रदृढदुष्करकर्ममार्गाः । नाराचमोक्षगतिपातगुणप्रवीणः
46. प्र(१)णाधिकोजनि ततो रथिको हिमाङ्गः ॥४०॥ ओलिन्दभूतलसमन्वितकञ्जियाक-
भिद्योभु-
47. वान्वितछहङ्करपाटकाख्यां (१) तस्मै स षट्³⁵ प्रमितधान्यसहस्र³⁶काणां राज्ये
निजे नरप-

²⁵ Original राजवभः.

²⁶ Original सर्वान्.

²⁷ Read दिशन्ति.

²⁸ We take जलाकर as one word. See foot-note under the translation of the Khanāmukh grant.

²⁹ Original दुपेता.

³⁰ Original पासिकौपरिकम.

³¹ Original प्रवरा.

³² Original स्वतां

³³ Original हिमदीधिति.

³⁴ Original सचरित्र.

³⁵ Original तस्मै ष षट्.

³⁶ Original सहस्रा.

48. तिः प्रददौ त्रिवर्षे ॥२१॥ त्रिलोचनाय तेनैव भ्रात्रे^{३७} स्मादेव शासनात् । सोदराय ददे भू-
 49. मिर्द्धयोर्दान्यसहस्रयोः ॥२२॥॥ अस्याः सीमा पूर्व्वेण चतुर्विंशतितन्त्राणां भूसीमि

Third Plate : Inner Side

50. × × × कवृक्षः कूर्म[नाथ] सत्कशासनभूसीमि शाखोटवृक्षः आखोट^{३८} वृक्षः (।)
 पूर्व्वदक्षिणे-
 51. [न] × × × वीर^{३९} सत्कशासनभूसीमि क्षेत्रालि (:) । दक्षिणेनाश्वत्थवृक्षः ।
 दिज्जिन्ना नदी । पश्चि-
 52. मदक्षिणेन सैव नदी । पश्चिमेन कूर्मनाथसत्कशासनभूसीमि अश्वत्थ^{४०} वृक्षः लोचन-
 53. वृक्षः (।) पश्चिमोत्तरेण रोपितशालमलीवृक्ष (:) क्षेत्रालि (:) तद्भूसीमि ओडि-
 भम्मवृक्षश्चेति ॥
 54. एवमपरखण्डओलिन्दासमेतकञ्जिया^{४१} भित्तिभूमेः सीमा पूर्व्वेण ओरङ्गितन्त्रा-
 55. णां भूसीमि लोचनवृक्षः । वक्रानुवक्रेण हिज्जलवृक्षः । पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन शालमलि-
 56. वृक्षः । दक्षिणेन विजयश्रीनौभुक्तकभूसीमि कण्टावकवृक्षः वंस^{४२} स्तूप-
 57. पः ओरचोसजोल (') । हिज्जलवृक्षः । उत्तरग क्षेत्रालि (:) पग^{४३} अश्वत्थ-^{४४}
 58. वृक्षः । वंस^{४२} स्तूप (:) । लहुचवृक्षः । डुम्मरि^{४५} मस्तक (') । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन
 59. भल्लामिठिभूसीमि धूमरदेव (:) । पश्चिमेन भरिपाकटी^{४६} वृक्षः । अन्त-^{४७}
 60. रेण वन्सवृत्तिः^{४८} । पश्चिमोत्तरेण विजयश्रीनौभुक्तकभूसीमि वंस^{४५} स्तूपः । उत्त-
 61. रग^{४९} क्षेत्रालि (:) । शालमलिवृक्षः । वक्रेण ओरचोषजोल (') । वृहद्रावा भूसीमि
 काशिम्ला-^{५०}

^{३७} Original भ्रातरे.

^{३८} The word is not clear. It is given here as conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

^{३९} As conjectured by P. N. Bhattacharyya.

^{४०} Original आश्वत्थ.

^{४१} Original कञ्जिया.

^{४२} Read वंश.

^{४३} Abbreviation of पश्चिमग.

^{४४} Original आश्वत्थ.

^{४५} Read वंश.

^{४६} In the Nidhanpur grant (line 130) we have डुम्बरी. डुम्मरि may be a Prakritised form.

^{४७} The reading is tentative.

^{४८} Read वंशवृत्तिः.

^{४९} Possibly उत्तरेण is intended.

^{५०} Cf. काशिम्वला (lines 68-69) and कशिम्वल (lines 70-71) in the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla. Like डुम्मरि for डुम्बरी, काशिम्ला may be treated as a Prakritisation for काशिम्वल.

62. वृक्षः । वटवृक्षः । क्षेत्रालिः । उत्तरपूर्व्वेण भोरङ्गितन्त्राणां भूसीम्नि वहुभालवृक्षः
 63. ⁵¹वाल्मीकस्तुपरचेति ॥ॐ॥

TRANSLATION

V. 1 to line 30 : As in the Khanāmukh grant.

Lines 31-32 : In the area of the land (called) Śubhaṅkarapātaka, which has a yield of six thousand units of paddy, which belongs to the Dijjinā viṣaya and, which includes the land of Kañjiyābhiṭvi and a plot sliced off from the (area known as) Olinda.

Line 38 onwards : In Śravastī there is a village named Krosañja, into which the sin of the Kali age (*kalikalmaṣa*) could not enter (on account of) being blinded by the darkness caused by the smoke of the sacrifices of the sacrificers. (v. 16).

There was born Rāmadeva, the foremost of all the brāhmaṇas born therein, who had a rich intellect, who was chief of the followers of the Kauthumaśākhā, who was never to be defeated (in a controversy) by the scholars of Sāmaveda, who belonged to the Śaṇḍilyagotra and who was similar to Rāma (of Ayodhyā). (v. 17).

He had a son, named Bharata, who was above all sins, and similar to Śākya (Buddha), and the sole source for the origin of Śama (quietism) and dama (restrains), who being exclusively devoted to the six *karmans* (acts enjoined) remained aloof from the inauspicious, who was polite and was the best amongst (i.e., an ornament of) the good and the meritorious men. (v. 18).

Like Rohinī, the consort of the cool-rayed (Moon), and like Pārvatī the dear wife of the Enemy of Andhaka (i.e., Śiva), he had a wife, named Pāukā, who was possessed of merits and chastity and a good character. (v. 19).

From them was born the charioteer Himāṅga, who was dearer than their (own) lives, who accomplished all the (martial) acts like *pada* (i.e., piercing through the target) in a commendable manner, who was used to the hard and difficult acts concerned with the picture-like arrangements of the army (*citra*), and who was experienced in the matter of the velocity, striking and effects of a darted shaft. (v. 20).

To him the king, in the third year of his reign, has donated a land named Śubhaṅkarapātaka, which includes (a portion of) the land of Olinda and Kañjiyākabhiṭvī, and which is capable of yielding six thousand units of paddy. (v. 21).

⁵¹ There is a big gap in the beginning of this line.

To his brother Trilocana he (i.e., the king) himself has donated (a plot of) land sufficient to produce two thousand units of paddy out of the plot of land granted by this very charter. (v. 22).

The boundary of this (land) is as follows—To the east - - - ka tree lying on the boundary of the land of the twentyfour *tantras* (?) and a *Śākhoṭa* tree and a walnut tree standing on the boundary of the chartered land (*śāsanabhū*) belonging to (*satka*) Kūrmanātha. To the south-east there is the field-demarcating foot-path (*kṣetrālī*) on the margin of the chartered land belonging to Vīra. To the south a holy fig tree (*aśvattha*), then the Dijjinnā river. To the south-west the same river. To the west a holy fig tree on the boundary of the chartered land belonging to Kūrmanātha and a *locana*(?) tree. To the north-west a planted silk-cotton tree, a field demarcating foot-path and on the margin of that land there is also an *oḍiamma* tree. (lines 49 to 53).

Thus, the boundary of the other part comprising the land of Kañjyābhiṭvī, including the locality called Olindā, is as follows : To the east there is the locana tree on the boundary of the land of *Oraṅgitantras*. Then after a zigzag bend there is a *hijjala* tree. To the south-east there is a silk-cotton tree. To the south there is a *kañṭāvakkara* tree on the boundary of the land apportioned for the 'Victory-fortune navy'. (*Vijayaśrī-nau-bhūkta*), a bamboo bush and the *Oracoṣajola*. There is also a *hijjala* tree. Then there is a field-dividing foot-path. Then towards the west there is a holy fig tree, then a bamboo bush, then a *lahuca* tree, then there is the *ḍummari mastaka*. (i.e., the head of the *ḍummari*). To the south-west, on the border of the land of Bhallābhiṭhi there is (the holding of) Dhumāradeva. To the west there is a banyan tree with hanging roots (*jharipākaṭī*). Then at a little distance there is a hedge of bamboos. To the north-west a bamboo bush on the margin of the land of the 'Victory-fortune Navy'. To the north there is a field demarcating foot-path and a silk-cotton tree. Then after a curve there is the *Oracoṣajola*. There is a *kāśimlā* tree on the margin of the land of Brhadrāvā. Then a holy fig tree (*vaṭa*) and then a field dividing foot-path. To the north-east, a *bahuāla* tree standing on the boundary of the land of *Oraṅgi tantras* also an ant hill.

NOTES

Line 1 : For notes on the initial auspicious *āñṇī* sign see under the Tezpur grant of Vanamālavarman.

Line 31 : The word *apakṛṣṭa* seems to be used in various slightly varying senses. In line 54 we have the word *sameta* in place of *apakṛṣṭa*. Hence, it should mean 'inclusive of'. Earlier we had the word in the sense of 'sliced off' (as in the Guvākuci grant). In the Khanāmukh grant also we have preferred to understand the meaning as 'sliced off'. In this grant

it is easy to take this meaning in line 31. But in line 54 we have *olindāsameta* (apparently meaning 'inclusive of the land called Olindā') instead of *olindāpakṛṣṭa*. Hence, it may be conjectured that the portion of land sliced off from the larger area known as Olindā also used to be referred to as Olindā, and in line 54 *olindāsameta* presumably means 'inclusive of the portion of land sliced off from Olindā.' It is possible to call a portion of Olindā also by the name Olindā by transference of epithet or by what is traditionally known as *brāhmaṇaśramaṇanyāya*.

Dijjinā viṣaya : In the Nowgong Grant (line 33) of Balavarman III also there is a reference to *Dijjinā viṣaya*. In the said grant the said *viṣaya* is described to be in the *Dakṣiṇakūla*, a term which is taken by us to mean the southern bank of the river Brahmaputra. Most probably the *Dijjinā viṣayas* mentioned in these two inscriptions are identical. P. C. Choudhury (*HCPA*, p. 242) takes *Dijjinā* to be identical with modern Dinajpur of North Bengal (and partially of Bangladesh). But this identification appears to be highly fanciful. It is significant that K. P. Goswami in his paper, Place-names of Bengal (vide, *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 1-70) utilises the data of both of the said two *Kāmarūpa* inscriptions but does not present the equation of *Dijjinā* with *Dinajpur*, presumably because *Dinajpur* as a more modern name falls outside the scope of his study.

Line 32 : *Suhāṅkara* : It is the Prākritisised form of the word *Subhāṅkara*. cf. खघथधभां हः (*Prākṛtaprakāśa*, II.27) and शषोः सः (*Ibid*, II.43).

Line 38 : *Krośaṅja* : See under *Śrāvastī* below.

Śrāvastī : *Śrāvastī* is mentioned in the Silimpur inscription, v. 2 (*EP. Ind.* Vol. XIII, p. 283) and also in the following verses :

तस्य पुत्रोऽभवद्वीरः श्रावस्तिरिति विश्रुतः ।

निर्मिता येन श्रावस्ती गौडदेशे महापुरी ॥

(*Kūmapurāṇa*, part, I, 20. 19) and

श्रावस्तश्च महातेजा वत्सकस्तत्पुत्रोऽभवत् ।

निर्मिता येन श्रावस्ती गौडदेशे द्विजोत्तमाः ॥

(*Matsya-purāṇa*, 12. 30)

The second half of the relevant verse in the Silimpur inscription reads as follows :

तेषामार्यजनाभिपूजितकुलं तर्कोरित्याख्यया

श्रावस्तिप्रतिबद्धमस्ति विदितं स्थानं पुनर्जन्मनाम् ॥

P. N. Bhattacharyya points out convincingly that *Śrāvastī* of *Kūmapurāṇa* is a great city (*mahāpurī*), but the *Śrāvastī* of the present grant and the Silimpur insc. is a larger locality (a *janapada*, so to say). Tarkkāri village, belonging to *Śrāvastī* of the Silimpur insc. and the village of

Krosaṇja belonging to Śrāvastī of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant have much similarity in respect of the sacrificial smoke (*homa-dhūma*) etc. It is imperative, as explained by P. N. Bhattacharyya, that the larger locality of Śrāvastī (i.e., a *janapada*) belonged to Kāmarūpa, and most probably, as adjacent to the eastern boarder of the Pauṇḍra. It is quite plausible that the Dijinnāviṣaya, to which the granted land of Śubhaṅkara Pāṭaka belonged, was also located in the western part of Kāmarūpa, obviously not far off from the Śrāvastī viṣaya, to which the forefathers of the donees belonged; for, while describing the boundaries of the granted land the C.P. refers to one Br̥hadrāvā, meaning one enjoying a high position among the Rābhās, who as a highly cultured plains tribe now inhabit mostly in the district of Goalpara, the westernmost district of Assam.

Thus according to P. N. Bhattacharyya (*KS*, pp. 161, 164-167, *bhūmika*, pp. 40f) (1) Śrāvastī was a larger locality, a maṇḍala or viṣaya or janapada, belonging to the westernmost part of Kāmarūpa, (2) The locality has been inhabited by Brāhmiṇs who presumably came from Śrāvastī of North Kośala celebrated for the preaching of Buddha, and has been named after the original home of the said Brāhmiṇs. (3) Both Krosaṇja and Tarkkāri (of the Śilimpur insc.) belonged to this Śrāvastī of Kāmarūpa. (4) Brāhmiṇs of the Śilimpur insc. migrated from this Kāmarūpa-Śrāvastī to the Balagrāma of the Varendra maṇḍala of Pauṇḍra (i.e., North Bengal). (5) The distance from Tarkkāri of Śrāvastī of Kāmarūpa to Balagrāma was presumably as much as could be covered by a bullock cart in course of a day.

But, here we have to take note of the fact that "Tarkkāri (= Takāri) is known from numerous other records as a great seat of larned Brāhmaṇas. It was variously called Tarkāri, Tarkārikā, Tarkāra, Takkāra, Takāri and Takkārikā. Sometimes⁵² it is said to have been situated in the Madhyadeśa division of India, which comprised, roughly speaking, the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Panjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bngal were included in the division".⁵³

Tarkkāri, having been located in Madhyadeśa, could not have belonged to any part of Kāmarūpa, nor even to the westernmost part of it. Hence the larger domain of Śrāvastī to which Tarkkāri belonged must have been outside Kāmarūpa. "There is, however, difference of opinion as regards the location of this Śrāvastī. Some scholars favour its identification with Setmahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location about the Bogra

⁵² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 118.

⁵³ D. C. Sircar, (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX, No. 10, p. 86) on Śāntiragrāma grant of Dandimahādevī which mentions Takāri in line, 34 (cf. टकारीविनिर्गतधर्मपाट्टि-वास्तव्यमाट्टमाक्यदेवाय, etc.)

District in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars and the village of Takari is located in Oudh".⁵⁴

In my opinion, the Śrāvastī of the Śubhāṅkarapāṭaka C.P. was the same as the Śrāvastī to which Ṭarkkārī belonged. Let us explain that only the grand-father of the two donees was a foremost one (*pravara*) amongst the Brāhmins who 'were born in' or 'hailed from' (*tatsambhavānām*) Krosañja. Let us presume that in the time of the grand-father or the father or the sons they came away from Śrāvastī of North Kośala to seek fortune as was the case with Himāṅga who received land by virtue of his skill in archery and probably also because of the reputation of his father and grand-father as highly respectable Brāhmins. It is also not improbable that even up to the time of Himāṅga they used to live at Śrāvastī and it was only Himāṅga who came all the way to receive a gift from the Kāmrūpa king like the Kāmarūpa Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇusomācārya, going all the way to Orissa to receive a gift of land from Jayavarman, brother of Anantavarman, the Gaṅga king of Kalinga (C. 922 A.D.). The C.P. grant issued by Anantavarman says that Viṣṇusomācārya was a resident of Śrṅgāṭikāgrahāra in the Kāmarūpa viṣaya; he belonged to the Pārāśara *gotra* and was well versed in the Veda and Vedāṅga. (See B. K. Barua, *CHA*, p. 121 and *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, Vol. II. pp. 271 ff and Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I. pp. 232 f.). Thus it need not be conjectured that there was a Śrāvastī also in Kāmarūpa.

It appears to me that Krosañja is same as Kolāñca or Kroḍañca of the Bangaon Plate of Vigrahapāla III. Cf. कोलाञ्चविनिर्गताय इन्द्रिकावास्तव्याय (line 39) and क्रोडाञ्चान्निरियाय काञ्च इति यः सद्ब्राह्मणानां स्थितिः (line 49, V. 24).

D. C. Sircar observes that "Kolāñca or Kroḍañca is also called Kolañca, Kroḍañci and Kroḍañja". (Note 1. p. 53, under introduction to Bangaon Plate of Vigrahapāla III, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX. No. 7). Now Kroḍañja is a very near reading to Krosañja, which we have in the C.P. of Dharmapāla. D. C. Sircar also appears to take Krosañja to be same as Kroḍañja or Kolāñca when he observes : "That Kolañcha, together with Ṭarkārī, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early medieval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place". (*loc. cit.*). Here no reason is given as to why Ṭarkārī was not far from Kolañcha. Let us presume that what we already have from P. N. Bhattacharyya in the *KŚ* is enough to support this. In the same place D. C. Sircar goes on to ascribe Kroḍañca (and for that matter our Krosañja) to ancient Śrāvastī and to locate

⁵⁴ D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX. No. 10, p. 86. See also R. C. Majumdar, (Ed.) *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), p. 579, note; R. C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal*, G. Bharadwaj & Co., 1971, pp. 493f, n. 46.

Śrāvastī preferably on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts of Uttar Pradesh.

It is very significant to note that Rāmadeva of Krosañja (of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka C.P.) belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gotra and used to study the *Sāmaveda* and Ghāṇṭukaśarmā of Kolañca (of the Bangāon Plate of Vigrhapāla III) also belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gotra and used to study the Chandogaśākhā (of the *Sāmaveda*). cf. शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय शाण्डिल्यासितदेव-
लप्रवराय नरसिंहसब्रह्मचारिणे छन्दोगशाखाध्यायिने मीमांसाव्याकरणतर्कविद्याविदे कोलाञ्च-
विनिर्गताय.....श्रीघाण्टकशर्मणे (lines 38, 39).

Sāvathī of the Guvākucī C.P. grant of Indrapāla (verse, 20) appears to be a Prakṛitised form of Śrāvastī. Sāvathī should have been a locality around modern Rangia Junction of the N. F. Railway, in the District of Kāmarūpa some 30 KM North of Gauhati. P. N. Bhattacharyya who places Śrāvastī in the westernmost border of Kāmarūpa, examines the probability of identity of Śrāvastī with Sāvathī and finally rejects the idea on the ground of different and distant locations of the two places. (K.S. pp. 210 f) He is, however, led to conjecture that there were two Śrāvastīs (one being Prakṛitised as Sāvathī) in Kāmarūpa itself. But as we have ascribed Śrāvastī of the present C.P. to North Kośala we may suppose Sāvathī as the only Śrāvastī of Kāmarūpa. This Sāvathī might have been modelled on Śrāvastī of North Kośala like Ayuthia (from Ayodhyā) of Kambuja. cf. also river Mekang (from Mā Gaṅgā).

But it may be noted carefully that the donee of the Guvākucī Grant of Indrapāla, viz., Devadeva himself is not said to have hailed from Sāvathī.⁵⁵ It is only his grand-father Somadeva, who is said to have belonged to Sāvathī (See V. 20). It is not unlikely that in the third generation, the donee Devadeva had already migrated to Kāmarūpa and only after receiving the land donated by the present grant he became a permanent settler of any place of Kāmarūpa. Thus, Sāvathī need not necessarily belong to Kāmarūpa itself. We like to suggest that this Sāvathī is identical with the Śrāvastī of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant. It is significant that the village Vaināmā of Sāvathī and the village Krosañja of Śrāvastī are both depicted to be important seats of brāhmaṇical culture.

Verse 17 : *Kauthuma śākhā*; The śākhās are the various recensions of the texts (*samhitās*) of the four vedas, which have been prevalent in the different schools of seers (*ṛṣis*). Thus we hear of five

⁵⁵ P. N. Bhattacharyya says :

“सावथिर ब्राह्मण (देवदेव) पण्डरी भूमिर अन्तर्गत एकखण्ड धानेर जमि पाइया-
छिलेन” (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 211). But there is nothing in the grant to confirm that Devadeva himself belonged to Sāvathī

śākhās of the *Ṛgveda*, viz. Śākala, Vāṣkala, Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Māṇḍūkya of which only Śākala is now extant. The two śākhās of the *White Yajurveda* are Mādhyandina and Kāṇva. The *Black Yajurveda* has four śākhās viz. Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇī, Kāthaka and Kaṭha. The *Sāmaveda* has two śākhās, viz., *Kauthuma* and *Rāṇāyaṇīya*. Two śākhās of the *Atharvaveda*, viz. Paippalāda and Śaunaka are available.

At present the *Sāmaveda* tradition is almost nil in Kāmarūpa or Assam. We can trace out only a very few and rare references to *Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇas* as the present one. In the Nidhanpur C. P. we have reference to ten *Brāhmaṇas*, out of a total number of 205, as studying the text of *Chāndogya*, which by all means belongs to the *Sāmaveda*. For the mention of the *Chāndogaśākhā* as studied by a *Brāhmin* of Krosañja see notes under *Śrāvastī* above.

Verse 18 : *Ṣaṭkarma* ; the six sacred duties of a *Brāhmaṇa*. Cf.

अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।

दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्माभ्ययजन्मनः ॥ (मनु० १०-७५)

Verse 20 : This verse very significantly refers to a *Brāhmin* "who was not only skilled in archery, but also an expert in reading the omens implied in the movement and fall of other people's arrows. Further, he was well skilled in different methods of attack and defence". (B. K. Barua, *CHA*, p. 121). *Citra* implies arrangement of soldiers in the form of particular pictures. These arrangements (*citrabandhas*) have such names as *khaḍgabandha* (the sword-like arrangement), *cakrabandha* (the wheel-like arrangement), *muraḍjabandha* (the tabor-like arrangement) and so on. *Mahākāvya*s (court epics) like that of *Māgha*, have peculiar arrangements, of letters, called, *citrabandhas* with similar names as above, particularly on the occasion of describing a battle-field. (cf. *Śiśupālavadha*, Canto XIX).

Line 49 : *caturvīmśatitantrāṇām* ; *tantra* is a handloom. If one loom implies one weaver, we have, from the expression, a reference to twentyfour weavers.

Line 53 : The northern and north-eastern boundaries are not indicated. Probably the relevant portion of the text has been left out by mistake in the time of engraving the plate.

Line 60 : *Vamśa-vṛkṭiḥ*—P. N. Bhattacharyya retains the word *vṛkṭiḥ*, which does not make any sense in the present context. What seems to have been intended is *vṛtiḥ*, a hedge or a fence. cf. *pāṇḍuc-chāyopavanavṛtayaḥ ketakaiḥ sūcibhinnaiḥ* (*Meghadūta*, 1. 24).

Line 61 : *Vṛhadrāvā* seems to be a term similar to *Vṛhatphukkana* of later Ahom inscriptions.⁵⁶ This expression seems to mean some Barrābhā, a chief amongst the Rābhās or one belonging to a higher strata of the Rābhās who belong to the Baḍo tribe of Assam.

Line 62 : *Orāngitantrānām* may mean some weavers (*tantras*) hailing from Orāng, a place in the modern Darrang district of Assam. From Darrang we have the epithet Darrāṅgī, e.g., Darrāṅgī rajā, Darrāṅgī melā. Likewise we might derive the epithet Orāṅgī from Orāng.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Prācya-Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 16, 24-26, 29-44, etc.

No. 20. **PUSPABHADRĀ COPPERPLATE GRANT OF
DHARMAPĀLA**

(First half of the 12th Century)

References : P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 168-184, and K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, Appendix iv, pp. 229 f. for English translation only.

Place and History : The grant was found somewhere on the dry bed of the river Puṣpabhadrā, in North Gauhati. From the hand of the cowherd boy, who discovered it, the grant ultimately reached the hands of the Late Hem Chandra Goswami in 1909. It was first deciphered and made known by Hem Chandra Goswami himself in a meeting of the Baṅga-Sāhityānuśīlanī Sabhā of Gauhati (vide KŚ, pp. 168 and 212). In 1916 an article, along with a Bengali translation, by P. N. Bhattacharyya appeared in the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (B.S. 1322, No. 2). This inscription is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Vide Acc. No. A18314, a-d).*

Description : The grant consists of three Copper Plates in very good condition tied up with a ring and the royal seal. Letters are clearly written and are found in a distinctly legible condition except for a very few letters in the last line of the second plate and the first line of the third plate. The first plate (inner side) contains fifteen lines; in the second plate first page contains 16 lines, second page contains 15 lines, and the third plate (inner side) contains ten lines; thus the grant contains a total of fiftysix lines.

When P. N. Bhattacharyya wrote the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, the Khanāmukh grant of Dharmapāla was yet to be discovered. Hence, till the discovery of the Khanāmukh grant, the Śubhaṅkarapātaka grant was known as the first C. P. grant of Dharmapāla and the present grant was known as the second C. P. grant of Dharmapāla.

Script and Language : The script is basically North Indian Brāhmī as was prevalent in those days. Yet some modernisations, even in comparison with the earlier grants of the same king, may be noticed. For example, in earlier grants the letter *bh* has its lower line bent towards the right side while in the

present grant it is bent to the left as we have in the modern Assamese *bh*. There are slight differences also in case of the letters *p*, *d*, etc. In this inscription the *ā-kāra* and the *e-kāra* have assumed forms similar to those of the *ā-kāra* and *e-kāra* of the modern Assamese/Bengali script. Here also two forms of *anusvāra* are seen; in one of these two forms it is absolutely similar to the *anusvāra* of the modern Assamese/Bengali script. (Cf. line 27 for two such *anusvāras*.) The orthographical peculiarities noticed in case of the earlier two grants of Dharmapāla are repeated more or less in the same manner also in this inscription. Occasional avoidance of *sandhi* even where it is obligatory, is another peculiarity of this inscription.

The language is chaste and elegant Sanskrit. There are twentytwo beautifully made verses and a prose portion which gives only the typical address to the royal officers etc., and the boundary of the donated land. But in this inscription the omissions and commissions are so numerous that they cannot be explained away simply as cases of Prākṛitisation. In case of most of the earlier inscriptions of this anthology we have given the original text itself suggesting the emendations only in the foot-note. But here, although the patron king himself had a hand in composing the text, the inscribed text so greatly abounds in omissions and commissions that we had to prefer to present the text as emended by P. N. Bhattacharya.

With this grant king Dharmapāla made a gift of land, enough for yielding ten thousand units of paddy, to a Brāhmaṇa named Modhusūdana. It is interesting to note that king Dharmapāla himself composed the first eight verses of the grant and the rest of the grant was composed by a very modest poet named Aniruddha. But this poet was in no way inferior to Prasthānakalaśa, who composed the earlier grants of Dharmapāla.

Date :

No date is given in this grant. But there are evidences to know that while the earlier two grants were issued in the first and the third years of the reign of the king respectively, this grant was issued much later in his life. The evidences are viz. (1) Difference in script towards a modernisation, (2) Non-availability of the poet Prasthānakalaśa, (3) Difference in the literature of the grant, such as that while in the earlier grants of Kāmarūpa, including the first two of Dharmapāla, homage is paid to some form of Śiva, there

is no mention of Śiva in the present grant. The earlier grants of Dharmapāla describe six predecessors of Dharmapāla, while in the present grant, with the greater prominence of the donor king himself, it was presumably deemed necessary to give description of only three earlier generations. The suggestion as to the course of fate and destiny, as we have in the seventh verse of the present grant, should come only from a king who is already too old and imbued with the spirit of renunciation. Dharmapāla, at his younger age, liked to be described as a hero (*Jītavīrārāṭīcakra*) in the earlier two grants, while in the present grant, presumably due to his old age, he describes himself as a consummate poet (*kavīcakra*) (*kavīcakra* *vālacūḍāmaṇi*) (4) That Dharmapāla made the gift of as large a land as to yield ten thousand units of paddy, seems to imply that it was in a much advanced age of him as the donor when he was presumably more religious minded and more generous, (5) From the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka grant to the Puṣpabhadra grant there must have been a long gap so as to allow a great revolution in religious outlook, in so far as in the former the king was a devotee of Śiva and in the latter he became a Vaiṣṇava to pay homage to Nārāyaṇa in the *maṅgala* verse and to make gift of a large plot of land to a Brāhmaṇa, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu (*Mādhava*) from his very childhood. (cf. v. 18). Since, we presume that Dharmapāla ruled mostly in the 12th century for a long time beginning probably at the end of the 11th century, we may roughly put the Puṣpabhadra grant in *circa* 1130 A.D. K. L. Barua, however, gives the date as *circa* 1110 A.D. (*EHK*, Introduction, p. 111).

Metre : V. 1, Sragdharā ; VV. 2, 5-8, 13, 15-19, 21, Vasantatilakā ; V. 3, 4, 14, Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; V. 9, 10, 20, Rathoddhatā ; V. 11, Śikharinī ; V. 12, Anuṣṭubh (*Pathyāvakra*) ; V. 22, Upajāti of Indra Vajrā (1-2) and Upendravajrā (3-4).

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. ९ स्वस्ति । श्रीमान् स क्रोडरूपो⁵⁷ जयति वसुमतीमण्डलालीढदंष्ट्रः पोत्रोत्कीर्णाद्विचक्रः
सुरयुग-

⁵⁷ Original रूपो.

2. शिखर⁵⁸ क्षुण्णपाताल⁵⁹ पङ्कः (।) वेगव्याक्षिप्तविरवप्र(ल) यजपवनैर्यस्य⁶⁰ निरवास-
वातैर्भूयो भूयः प्र-
3. ताम्यत्तिमिमकरकुलाः पीतमुक्ताः समुद्राः ॥१॥ आसीन्नृपो नरक इत्यवनिप्रसूत(:)
सूनुर्वराहव-
4. पुषो⁶¹ गरुडवजस्य । तस्माद्भव भगदत्त इति प्रसिद्धो⁶² राजन्यचक्रपरिचुम्बित-
पादपद्मः ॥२॥ त-
5. स्मिन्नेव महान्वये⁶³ नयनिधौ श्रीवृहत्पातालदयो भूता ये नृपपुङ्गवाः कथयितुं तेषां गु-
6. णान् कः क्षमः । येनास्माकमदृष्टपारमहिमोपाख्यानमृदात्मनां जिह्वैका न सहस्रधा न
7. वचसि प्रज्ञापि वा हृष्यति⁶⁴ ॥३॥ तद्वशे⁶⁵ नृपतिर्व्व⁶⁶ भूव नयवान् धर्म्म⁶⁶
निवद्धादर(:) श्रीगोपा-
8. ल इति प्रतापदहनश्लष्टद्विषत्काननः । यस्याद्यापि सुभासहोदरगुणग्रामोपरुद्धा-
9. ततिः⁶⁷ स्वर्गाङ्गा⁶⁸ गुरुभङ्गसङ्गरजिता⁶⁹ फेनैरिवोपप्लुता⁷⁰ ॥४॥ पत्नी वभूव नृपते-
10. नयनाभिधाना तस्य⁷¹ प्रसिद्ध⁷² महसो महनीयकीर्तिः (।) ताम्यामजायत
जगत्त्रयगतकी-
11. र्त्तिः श्रीहर्षपाल इति पालकुलप्रदीपः ॥५॥ तस्मान्नृपो⁷³ भुवन⁷⁴ गीतगुणाभिरामो
धर्म्मैकदत्त-
12. हृदयोजनि धर्म्मपालः (।) यस्मिन् मुखाम्बुखकोपरजोभिवास⁷⁵ लुब्धेव वाग्
भगव-
13. ती चिरमध्यु⁷⁶ वास ॥६॥ हे भाविनो नृपतयो प्र(ण) येन याच्ना(')
श्रीधर्म्मपालनृपतेः⁷⁷ शृणुते-
14. ति यूयं । विद्युच्छटाक्षपलराज्यमृषाभि (मा) नः त्याज्य(:) कदाचिदपि नित्यसुखो
न धर्म्मः ॥७॥

⁵⁸ Original शिखर.

⁶⁰ Original यस्य.

⁶² Original प्रसिद्ध.

⁶⁴ Original हृष्यति.

⁶⁶ Original does not have *repha*.

⁶⁸ Original स्वर्गाङ्गा.

⁷⁰ Original प्लुता.

⁷² Original प्रसिद्धि.

⁷⁴ Original भवन.

⁷⁶ Original द्व.

⁵⁹ Original पातील.

⁶¹ Original पुसो.

⁶³ Original माहान्वये.

⁶⁵ Original तद्वन्से.

⁶⁷ Original रुद्ध नांतः.

⁶⁹ Original जितैः.

⁷¹ Original स्तस्याः.

⁷³ Original तस्यामृपो.

⁷⁵ Original रास.

⁷⁷ Original नृपतिः.

15. पालान्वयाम्बुजरविः कविचक्रवालचूडामणिः (:) कलितसर्वकलाकलापः । श्रीधर्मप
(१) ल-

Second Plate : Obverse

16. नृपतिर्गुणरत्नसिन्धुरेतां प्रशस्ति⁷⁸ मकरोदवदातकीर्त्तिः ॥८॥ स्वस्ति प्रागज्यो⁷⁹-
तिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिह-
17. तदण्डक्षपिताशेष⁸⁰ रिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्व⁸¹ रपरमभट्टारक⁸² महारा (जा) धिराज-
श्रीमद्धर्मपाल व-
18. र्मदेवपादाः कुपलिनः ॥९॥ श्रीमधुसूदनसत्कगुहेश्वरदिग्दोलवृद्धग्रामभूमौ ॥
19. यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहारिकप्रमुखज (१) नपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृ-
तानन्यानपि
20. राजन्यक⁸³ राजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं
समादिशन्ति विदि-
21. तमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलज (ल) गोप्रचारावस्कर (१) द्युपेता यथासंस्था
स्वसीमा⁸⁴ पर्यन्ता हस्ति⁸⁵ बन्ध-
22. नौकाबन्धचोरोद्धरणदाण्डपाशिकौ⁸⁶ परिकरनानानिमित्तोत्खेदनादि हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र⁸⁷ गो-
23. महिषाजाविक (१) प्रचारा जलस्थलप्रभृतीनां⁸⁸ विनिवारितसर्वपीडाशासनीकृत्य ॥१०॥
24. ख्यातिपत्यभिधमस्ति सद्द्विजव्रात⁸⁹ भूषणमधर्मदूषणं । ग्रामरत्नमतिथत्तनिर्मितं
धर्मम-
25. न्द्रिमिव प्रजासृजा⁹⁰ ॥११॥ होमधूमवलये विद्यद्गते यज्वनां क्रतुषु कालिकाभ्रमात् ।
26. यत्र डम्बरमकाण्डताण्डवे तेनुरुमुखशिखाः⁹¹ शिखण्डिनः⁹² ॥१२॥ द्विजानां सद्धर्म-
प्रथ (म) पधिकानाम-

⁷⁸ Original प्रसस्ति

⁷⁹ Original जो.

⁸⁰ Original सेस.

⁸¹ Original स्व.

⁸² Original भटारक.

⁸³ Original राजन्नक. It is a clear case of Prākritisation for राजन्यक. cf. the rules अधो मनयाम् and शेषादेशयोद्वित्वमनादौ in Vararuci's *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*.

⁸⁴ Original ससीमा.

⁸⁵ Original हस्ति.

⁸⁶ Original पासिको.

⁸⁷ Original हस्तिश्वोष्ट्र.

⁸⁸ Original प्रभृतीनां.

⁸⁹ Original सद्द्विजव्राज.

⁹⁰ Original प्रजासृजत्.

⁹¹ Original तेनुरुमुखशिखाः.

⁹² Original शिखण्डिनः.

27. नुदिन⁹³ त्रिसन्ध्यं स्नानार्थ⁹⁴ प्रशमजपपापक्षयकृतां⁹⁵ (।) चतुर्वेदीपाठध्वनिरतनु
वाचालयति य-
28. त् यमीगङ्गासङ्गोच्छलित⁹⁶ जलकल्लोलवहलः ॥११॥ माध्यन्दिन यजुर्वेदीशुद्ध⁹⁷ मौद्-
गल्यगोत्रजाः (।) तस्थु-
29. रौतथ्यमौद्गल्याङ्गिरसप्रवरा द्विजाः ॥१२॥ गोष्ठेषु⁹⁸ धामसु वनेषु चतुष्पथेषु⁹⁹
रथ्यासु वीथिषु मखे-
30. पु⁹⁹ सुरालयेषु । अद्यापि¹ पिण्डतरलब्धसुधासनाभो² विश्वानि यद्गुणगणो मुखरी-
31. करोति ॥१३॥ तद्वंशा³ दजनिष्ट शिष्टचरितो विप्रेश्वरो भास्वरो⁴ लक्ष्मीवाप्नर-⁵
वाहनाह्वय-

Second Plate : Reverse

32. सुतः सम्यक् कलाभिर्युतः । मीमांसा⁶ नयमा() सलीकृतमतिः चाणक्यमाणिक्यभू-
र्वंशो⁷ तुङ्गम-
33. णिः श्रुतिस्मृतिपथप्रस्थानपान्थव्रतः ॥१४॥ जीवामिधा रुचिररूपधराय कन्या धन्या⁸-
कृतिर्विमलवंश⁹ भवा वभूव ।
34. तस्याः करेण स करं जगृहे गृहस्थधर्माय कङ्कणधरं धृतकङ्कणेन ॥१५॥ आचारचार-
चरितो
35. भरितो गुणौघैः¹⁰ सर्वस्वदाननिरतो विरतो विमार्गात् । ताभ्यां वभूव तनयो
विनयोपपन्नो धन्यो-
36. तिष्ठन्दरतनुः सुतनुः प्रसिद्धः ॥१६॥ सौभाग्यरत्नगिरिविद्रुमवल्लुगवल्ली लावण्य-
पङ्कभववालमृणा-

⁹³ The *anusvāra* is similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

⁹⁴ Original स्नानार्थः.

⁹⁵ Original सङ्गोत्सलित.

⁹⁶ Original माध्यन्दिनयजुर्वेदीशुद्ध.

⁹⁷ Original गोष्ठेसु.

⁹⁸ Original चतुष्पथेषु.

⁹⁹ Original मखेसु.

¹ Original आद्यापि.

² Possibly समाभो (समाभः) was intended.

³ Original तद्वन्सा.

⁴ Original भास्वरः.

⁵ Original लक्ष्मीमान्नर.

⁶ Original मीमान्सा.

⁷ Original वन्सो.

⁸ This word (धन्या) has been left out in time of engraving and it occurs at the top margin of the plate.

⁹ Original वन्स.

¹⁰ Original गुणौघैः.

27. नुदिन⁹³ त्रिसन्ध्यं स्नानार्थं⁹⁴ प्रशमजपपापक्षयकृतां⁹⁵ (1) चतुर्वेदीपाठध्वनिरतनु
वाचालयति य-
28. त् यमीगङ्गासङ्गोच्छलित⁹⁶ जलकल्लोलवहलः ॥११॥ माध्यन्दिन यजुर्वेदीशुद्ध⁹⁷ मौद्-
गल्यगोत्रजाः (1) तस्थु-
29. रौतथ्यमौद्गल्याङ्गिरसप्रवरा द्विजाः ॥१२॥ गोष्ठेषु⁹⁸ धामसु वनेषु चतुष्पथेषु⁹⁹
रथ्यासु वीथिषु मखे-
30. पु⁹⁹ सुरालयेषु । अद्यापि¹ पिण्डतरलब्धसुधासनाभो² विश्वानि यद्गुणगणो मुखरी-
31. करोति ॥१३॥ तद्वंशा³ दजनिष्ट शिष्टचरितो विप्रेश्वरो भास्वरो⁴ लक्ष्मीवाप्नर-⁵
वाहनाह्वय-

Second Plate : Reverse

32. सुतः सम्यक् कलाभिर्युतः । मीमांसा⁶ नयमा(') सलीकृतमतिः चाणक्यमाणिक्यभू-
र्वंशो⁷ तुङ्गम-
33. णिः श्रुतिस्मृतिपथप्रस्थानपान्थव्रतः ॥१४॥ जीवामिथा रुचिररूपधराथ धन्या धन्या⁸-
कृतिर्विमलवंश⁹ भवा वभूव ।
34. तस्याः करेण स करं जगृहे गृहस्थधर्माय कङ्कणधरं धृतकङ्कणेन ॥१५॥ आचारचारु-
चरितो
35. भरितो गुणौघैः¹⁰ सर्वस्वदाननिरतो विरतो विमार्गात् । ताभ्यां वभूव तनयो
विनयोपपन्नो धन्यो-
36. तिष्ठन्दरतनुः सुतनुः प्रसिद्धः ॥१६॥ सौभाग्यरत्नगिरिविद्रुमवलगुवल्ली लावण्य-
पङ्कभवबालमृणा-

⁹³ The *anusvāra* is similar to that of the modern Assamese/Bengali script.

⁹⁴ Original स्नानार्थं.

⁹⁵ Original सङ्गोत्सलित.

⁹⁶ Original माध्यन्दिनयजुर्वेदीशुद्ध.

⁹⁷ Original गोष्ठेसु.

⁹⁸ Original चतुष्पथेषु.

⁹⁹ Original मखेसु.

¹ Original आद्यापि.

² Possibly समाभो (समाभः) was intended.

³ Original तद्वन्सा.

⁴ Original भास्वरः.

⁵ Original लक्ष्मीमान्नर.

⁶ Original मीमान्सा.

⁷ Original वन्सो.

⁸ This word (धन्या) has been left out in time of engraving and it occurs at the top margin of the plate.

⁹ Original वन्स.

¹⁰ Original गुणौघैः.

37. लयष्टिः । भानन्दकन्दलतिका मृगशाव¹¹ नेत्रा नेत्रामिधा किल वभूव तदीयपत्नी ॥१७॥
ताभ्यां सतः
38. सकलविप्रकुलप्रदीपः श्रीमान्¹² वभूव मधुसूदननामधेयः । यो वाल्यतः प्रभृ-
39. ति माधवपादपद्मपूजाप्रपञ्चरचना(') सुचिरं चकार ॥१८॥ तस्यानघप्रणयभागध-
- धर्मभाष्या ना-
40. र्ग्याकृतिः शतधृते¹³ रचनेव कापि । उत्पन्नस्त¹⁴ वालहरिणीचलनेत्रपत्रा पत्रेति
कुलशतपत्र-¹⁵
41. मुखी वभूव ॥१९॥ कामरूप¹⁶ नगरे नृपोभवद्धर्मपाल इति सान्वयाद्वयः । यस्य
कीर्तिवरटाजगज्जरत्न-
42. ज्ञरोदरगता स्म राजते ॥२०॥ दिग्दोलसंयुतगुहेश्वरनाम¹⁷ धेयां तस्मै ददौ
दशसहस्रभ-
43. वां भुव¹⁸ सः । श्रीधर्मपालनृपतिः¹⁹ प्रगुणावदातचित्ताय शासनतया मधु-
सूदनाय²⁰ ॥२१॥
44. नालंकृतिज्ञत्वकवित्वशब्दचित्त्वा²¹ दितः श्रीभनिरुद्धनामा । सदन्ववाय²² स्तुतिपु-
45. ण्यलोभात् प्रशस्तिमेनां रचयांचकार ॥२२॥ तक्षकार²³ श्रीविनीतेन खनित-
मिति ।*
46. पूरजिविषयान्तःपातिधान्यदशसहस्रोत्पत्तिकगुहेश्वर²⁴ दिग्दोलवृद्धग्रामभूम्यपकृष्ट-

Third Plate : Inner Side

47. × × × × [भूमिः] । [भ] स्याः सीमा पूर्व्वेण नोक्केव्वरीपालगोवाभभोग-
अलि(प)णाक्षेत्रभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रा(लिः) × × ×
48. (पूर्व्व) ग । दक्षिणग । तद्भूसीम्नि सोव्वडिपुष्करिणी पश्चिमपाट । खग्गालि ।
चम्पलाजोलि-
49. पश्चिमकूलानि । पूर्व्वग । जौगल्लनदीदक्षिणकूलं । दक्षिणग । तद्भूसीम्नि नेक्का-

¹¹ Original साव.

¹³ Original सत्रधृते.

¹⁵ Original सतपत्र.

¹⁷ Original गुहेश्वरधाम.

¹⁹ Original नृपति.

²¹ Original चित्त्वा.

²³ Original तक्षकार.

¹² Original श्रीमान.

¹⁴ Original उत्पन्न.

¹⁶ Original कामरूप.

¹⁸ Original भूव.

²⁰ Original मधुसूदनस्य.

²² Original सदन्ववाय.

²⁴ Original गुहेश्वर.

50. देउलि । सिङ्गद्विजोलयौ । पूर्वदक्षिणेन । दिज्जरतिहडी । दक्षिणेन वेकशुष्का²⁵ नदी
 51. दक्षिणपश्चिमेन खगगालिः । पश्चिमेन अवञ्चिकैवर्ताना(') भू (भु)क्तक अवञ्चभूसी-
 52. म्नि । थैसाडोव्भि । चाक्रोजाण । पारलिमुण्डाः । पश्चिमोत्तरेण दङ्गूसीम्नि व-
 53. (') श²⁶ (1) खयः । उत्तरेण तङ्गूसीम्नि²⁷ दिजमकाजोलदक्षिणकूलस्थसुव-
 54. ण्णदारुमुण्डः । उग । पग²⁸ । वक्रानुवक्रेण तङ्गू(:) । मानोसत्कशासननो-
 55. क्तडाभूमयोः सीम्नि दिजमकार्द्धशोतः²⁹ । पूर्वोत्तरेण तङ्गूः । नोक्केव्वरीपा-
 56. लभोगभलिपणाक्षेत्रभूमयोः सीम्नि²⁷ दिजमकाजोलाद्धः । मधुराश्वत्थमुण्डश्चे(ति ॥)

THE TEXT OF THE SEAL

(Below the elephant mark)

1. प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति
2. श्रीमद्धर्मपाल
3. वर्मदेवस्य

TRANSLATION

Let there be success.

Let there be welfare.

Let there be victory to the god Viṣṇu, who assumed the form of a boar, by whose tusk the Earth was lifted up, by the forepart of whose face the host of mountains were dug up, the tips of the pair of whose hoofs pugged the mire of the nether world, and who with the wind, caused by his breath, surpassed even the severe gale of the time of universal annihilation in speed, and caused great agony to the host of whales (*timi*) and crocodiles by (repeatedly) drinking up and then releasing the waters of (all the) ocean. (1)

There was a king named Naraka, who was the son of Viṣṇu (who has the insignia of Garuḍa in his banner) in the boar incarnation, being delivered by the goddess Earth. From him was born celebrated Bhagadatta, whose lotus-feet used to be kissed by the host of vassal kings. (2)

In that very great dynasty—the repository of (knowledge of) polity—were born Brahmajāla and other great kings. Who indeed is capable of describing their virtues? Because, we are bewildered to learn, from the

²⁵ Original शष्का.

²⁶ Original न्त.

²⁷ Original सीम्नि.

²⁸ उग = उत्तरग ; पग = पश्चिमग.

²⁹ Original मकार्द्धशोतः.

legends, about their limitless greatness, and our tongue is one and not a thousand in number and our intellect also does not have the mirth to play on words.(3)

In that family was born a just king named Śrī Gopāla, who had great interest in virtues and the fire of whose prowess burnt the forests in the form of his enemies, whose nectar-like (and white) virtues (i.e., fame because of virtues) extended up to the heavenly Ganges, which being obstructed by the same and being defeated in the battle, as it were, emits even today an abundant quantity of foam to overflow banks. (4)

That king, who was renowned for his lustre, had a queen, named Nayanā, of adorable fame. They two had a son named Śrī Harṣapāla, who was a lamp of the family of Pālas and whose fame used to be sung in the three worlds.(5)

From him was born king Dharmapāla, who was charming with his virtues, sung throughout the world, and whose heart was dedicated only to *Dharma*. In the lotus of whose mouth the goddess of Learning (*vāk*)³⁰ ever resided, as it were, out of attachment for the aroma of the pollens of it. (6)

Oh future kings ! please listen with love to this request of king Dharmapāla that you should give up your false vanity on account of (possessing) the kingdom, as transitory (literally, fickle) as the streak of lightening, but should never give up *Dharma*, which is the perennial source of pleasure. (7)

King Śrī Dharmapāla, a sun to the lotus of the Pāla dynasty, the crest jewel of the circle of poets, a possessor of the whole host of arts, an ocean (i.e., repository) for the jewels (*ratna*, i.e., best of best) in the form of virtues, who is endowed with a pure fame, has composed this *praśasti*. (8)

Svasti. Śrī Vārāha (i.e., one who can trace his origin from the Boar incarnation of lord Viṣṇu) Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Dharmapālavarma-devapāda, who is celebrated on account of his lordship over the Prāgjyotiṣa and who has demolished his endless enemies with his inscrutable prowess is in a state of wellbeing (and makes this proclamation with reference to the following). In the land of the village Guheśvara Digdola Vṛddha 'presided over by' (or containing the land of god) Śrī Madhusūdana.³¹ . . (lines 16-18).

(Translation of lines 19 to 23 is the same as of the corresponding portion in the *Khanāmukh Grant*.)

There is one of the best villages, viz. Khyātipali, which is adorned with a host of good Brāhmaṇas, which is a dispeller of vices, and which

³⁰ Necessary improvements on the translation given in the *EHK* are obvious, as in the present verse, and hence are not pointed out.

³¹ See notes below.

seems to have been created by the creator with great care as a temple of virtues. (9)

In that place, when on the occasion of the sacrifices performed by the sacrificing Brāhmaṇas curlings of sacrificial smoke ascended the sky, the peacocks used to start an untimely dancing with upturned crests on account of mistaking the smoke as dark clouds. (10)

This place is always largely resounded by a sound, as extensive as the sound of waves in the juncture of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which is caused by the chanting of the four Vedas by the Brāhmaṇas, who are the forerunners in the path of virtue and who destroy their own sins by muttering the *praśamamantras* in the time of taking baths in the three junctures of time (*trisaṇḍhyāyām*). (11)

In that place, there used to live the Brāhmaṇas, who studied the Mādhyandinaśākhā of the *Yajurveda* and were born of the pure Maudgalya gotra having the *pravara*s viz. Autathya, Maudgalya and Aṅgīrasa. (12)

Even today all the worlds are resounding with the singing of the host of their qualities, which being similar to a huge lump of ambrosia (*sudhā*), is being sung in the grazing grounds, dwelling houses, forests, road-squares, roads, bars, sacrificial grounds and the temples. (13)

In that family, the Brāhmaṇa named Naravāhana had a son named Bhāsvara, who was modest, illustrious, endowed with wealth and duly gifted with skill in arts and as such was a chief of the Brāhmaṇas. His intellect was rich with the knowledge of Mīmāṃsā, and he was like a repository of the jewel in the form of the treatise of Cāṇakya; he was the crest jewel of his family, so to say, on account of having taken the strong vow of being a traveller ever to tread over the path laid down by the Śruti (i.e., the Vedas) and the Smṛit; (i.e., the Dharmaśāstras). (14)

There was a girl named Jīvā, born of a pure family who was endowed with a charming beauty and a commendable form of the person. He (i.e. Bhāsvara) in order to enter the path of virtue of a house-holder (i.e., to start the family life) took her hand embellished with bangles (*kaṅkaṇa*) with his own hand, adorned with the auspicious matrimonial thread. (15)

From that couple was born a celebrated son named Sutanu—his demeanour was charming on account of good habits; he was full of good qualities; he was engaged in giving away as gift all his wealth, and was aloof from the unrighteous path; he was endowed with modesty, a charming appearance, and a good body. (16)

He had a wife named Netrā, who was the beautiful creeper of emerald growing in the jewel-mountain of good luck; (who was) a green (i.e., delicate and immature) lotus-stalk growing in the mud of beauty (*lāvanya*); (who was) a creeper sprouting out of a bulb (*kaṇḍa*) of delight, and who had eyes like those of a young deer. (17)

They got an illustrious son named Madhusūdana, who was like

a lamp for all the families of Brāhmins and who from his boyhood ever instituted the details of the worship of the lotus-feet of lord Mādhava. (18)

He had a wife named Patrā, who was the object of his unalloyed love. She was, as it were, an inexplicable creation of a female form by the creator. The petals of her eyes were as fickle as those of a frightened fawn, and her face was as charming as a blooming lotus. (19)

In Kāmarūpanagara there was a king, befittingly named Dharmapāla, the swan in the form of whose fame could shine even having been confined within the worn out cage of this world. (20)

King Śrī Dharmapāla has granted with (this) charter the land known as Guheśwara, joined with (the name) Digdola, capable of yielding ten thousand units of paddy to Madhusūdana, whose heart is pure on account of his best qualities. (21)

This (portion of the) *praśasti* has been composed by one named Śrī Aniruddha, not because of his knowledge of figures nor because of his poetic faculty nor also because of his skill in choosing (appropriate) words but because of a desire to earn merit by recounting the virtues of the high born ones. (22)

This has been engraved by the engraver Śrīvinīta. (line 45).

The land³² of - - - sliced off from the land of Guheśwara-Digdola Vṛddhagrāma, belonging to the Pūjari viṣaya, and capable of producing ten thousand units of paddy. (lines 46-47)

The boundary of this land is as follows :

To the east a field-dividing foot-path on the border of the land of Nokka Debbaripāla, Govābha, Bhoga and Alipaṇā. x x x x Running to the east. Running to the south. On the border of that land the western bank of the tank of Sobbaḍi, a land-dividing foot-path having reeds, the western banks of the Camyalā *joli* (a stream). Running to the east, the south bank of the Jaugalla river. Running to the south, on the border of that land the two streams (*jolyau*) named Nekkādeuli and Siṅgaḍi. To the eastern south (the land of) Dijjaratihaḍi. To the south the river Bekkaśuškā. To the south-west a land-dividing foot-path having reeds. To the west at the boundary of the land of the Abaṇci Kaivarttas having Abaṇca as the occupant, there are the Thaisāḍobbhi, the Cākkojāṇa (a stream) and the stump of a *pārālī* tree. To the western-north at the boundary of that land there are three bamboo trees. To the north at the boundary of that land there is the stump of a suvarṇadāru tree at the south bank of the Dijamakkājola (a stream). To the north and then to the west following the curves there is the same land, then there are the lands under the possession of Māno and belonging to Nokkataḍā and

³² The missing word in the beginning of line 47 might be restored as *Śrīmadhusūdanasatka*.

half current of the Dijamakkā (stream). The same land to the eastern north. There is half of (the stream of) Dijamakkājola at the border of the lands of Debbārīpāla, Bhoga, and Alipānā, and there is also the stump of a sweet Aśvattha tree. (lines 47 to 56).

NOTES

Line 1: The text begins with the auspicious *āñi* sign. See above, notes under Tezpur Copper Plates of Vanamāla.

Verse 1: For the first time in this grant, of all the grants of Kāmarūpa kings, we have a salutation to Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation in the *maṅgala* verse. Later in the whole attitude of the king we notice an unflinching and singular devotion to Viṣṇu referred to with the name Mādhava. It is pointed out that Śrī Dharmapāla granted with this charter the largest plot of land ever donated to a single Brāhmaṇa by any one of the Kāmarūpa kings. It might have been because of the Brāhmaṇa donee's having been attached to the worship of Mādhava from his boyhood. (Vide v. 18).

This newer interest in the cult of Viṣṇu is significant also because of the following facts.

(1) This trend anticipates the advent of the neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Assam in the 15th century under the leadership of Śrī Śaṅkaradeva.

(2) But while the neo-Vaiṣṇavism was to denounce all forms of *pūjā*, the Vaiṣṇava of king Dharmapāla's time engaged himself in all the details of a *pūjā* of Mādhava.

(3) This present prayer to Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation is significant and appropriate in so far as the genealogy of the king is traced back to the same Varāha-Viṣṇu, from whom king Naraka is said to have got birth, in the very next verse of the grant.

The word *jayati* literally means 'becomes victorious'. But in a context like the present one it implies a prayer or salutation as in the *maṅgala* verse of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa* or in the second verse of the Nidhanpur C. P. grant.

In this verse there is a Bhāvika alaṃkāra. *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, canto xii is celebrated for this type of alaṃkāra. In Bhāvika, a past or present event is vividly presented so as to appear like one happening just before the eyes. For details on this unusual type of alaṃkāra see, V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts of Alaṃkāraśāstra*.

Verse 2: *rājanyacakraparicumbitapādapadmah*; For similar expressions see notes on the Khanāmukh grant, V. 5.

Verse 3: *na prajñāpi hr̥syati* means, 'We do not have a free play of our intellect (i.e., imagination) for making verses'.

Verse 4 : *pratāpadahana . . . kānana* involves two *Rūpakas*; *sudhā-sahodaraguṇagrāma* presents an *Upamā*. The 'host of his qualities' (*guṇagrāma*) implies 'fame', which is white and extends up to the region of the heavenly Ganges, like the rushing waters of a river in full spate. The Ganges overflows with a larger quantity of froth (*phēna*), caused by the tussle of the two opposite currents. This tussle is described as a battle and the Ganges is supposed to have emitted the froth like a warrior defeated and wounded severely by the victorious enemy. Thus in the second half there is an *Utprekṣā* (*phenairivopaplutā*), supported by *Atiśayokti* (*gurubhaṅga-saṅgarajitā*).

Verse 5 : In the earlier two inscriptions of Dharmapāla we have reference to six predecessors viz. Brahmapāla, Ratnapāla, Purandarapāla, Indrapāla, Gopāla and Harṣapāla. But in the present grant we have references only to Brahmapāla, Gopāla and Harṣapāla. It is presumably because of the fact that by the close of his reign in the time of issuing this charter Dharmapāla attained so much of prominence that a more detailed account of Ratnapāla, Purandarapāla and Indrapāla was deemed redundant.

For *Pālakulapradīpa* cf. *avanipālakulapradīpa* in v. 8 of the earlier two grants of Dharmapāla. Harṣapāla is, however, described here as a lamp of the Pāla family. It is a case of *Rūpaka alaṁkāra*.

Verse 6 : This verse presents an *Utprekṣā alaṁkāra*, in the portion *lubdheva*, and an *Atiśayokti* in the portion *mukhāmburuha*, since the presence of pollens (*koṣarajaḥ*) in the lotus of his mouth is taken for granted. In the terminology of the *alaṁkāraśāstra* this is a case of *siddha adhyavasāya*.

Verse 7 : Though this verse is given in the middle of the text of the grant, this very much resembles the usual *Bhūmidāna* verses. Although the king himself making such an appeal with an express mention of his own name is singular so far as the inscriptions of ancient Assam are concerned, the pattern of the verse is not unfamiliar to the Indian epigraphical poetry. Hence, cf. *praṇayena yācñān śrīdharmapāla nṛpateḥ* with

सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्पाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।
सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
भूयो भूयः याचते रामचन्द्रः ॥

(*Ep. Ind.* vol. III. p. 343, quoted by D. C. Sircar in *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 193) This verse with slight variation (particularly *Rājasinhah* for *Rāmacandrah*) is found also in the Kalasan (Java) inscription of Śaka 700. This verse, *sāmānyōyam*, occurs in the *Skanda Purāṇa* in a story associated with Rāma and is sometimes attributed to him, although in a few cases it is wrongly ascribed to Vālmiki. See *Ep. Ind.* vol. xxxii, p. 55. text line 42 and *Skanda Purāṇa*, Brahma Khaṇḍa, Brahmāranya Khaṇḍa, ch. 34, verse 40. (For details see D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 172 ff). We may presume that king Dharmapāla modelled this verse on the *Skanda Purāṇa* tradition.

The idea relating to the transitoriness of wealth and fortune and the worth of dharma is very common as we have it in several places like the following ones :

1. अनुचिन्त्य श्रियं जीव्यं पद्मपत्राणुबिन्दुवत् ।

(*Ep. Ind.* vol. xix, p. 45)

2. स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धम्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः ।

(*Ibid.*, vol. xxviii, p. 216).

3. चला लक्ष्मीश्चलाः प्राणाश्चलं जीवितयौवनम् ।

चलाचले हि संसारे धम्मं एको हि निश्चलः ॥

(*Ibid.*, vol. xxii, p. 194)

4. इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्यमनुष्यजीवितञ्च

etc. (*Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 343, p. 349 etc.).

It is quoted also in *Kṣ.* p. 169.

Thus comparison of wealth and life with drops of water on the lotus leaf is very common. But we have in some places, a comparison with the flash of lightening also, to present a parallel to *vidyuccaṭācapala* etc. of our inscription. Hence, cf.

5. तडित्तुल्या लक्ष्मीस्तनुरपि च दीपानलसमा

(*Ep. Ind.* vol. iv, p. 250) and

6. विद्युद्विलासतरलामवगम्य सम्यग्

लोकस्थितिर्यशसि सक्तमनोभिस्त्वैः ।

नित्यं परोपकृतिमाश्रतैर्भवद्भि

धम्मोभिराधनपरैरनुमोदितव्या ॥

(*Ep. Ind.* vol. xxix, p. 43).³³

³³ These six quotations are reproduced from D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, ch. v, Appendix II.

Verse 8 : There are Paramparita Rūpakas in *pālānvayāmbujaraviḥ*, *kavicakravālacūḍāmaṇiḥ*, and *guṇaratnasindhuḥ*. King Dharmapāla finds pleasure in describing himself as a crest jewel of the circle of poets (*kavicakravālacūḍāmaṇi*). By now we are convinced that he deserves this epithet because of his poetic talents amply betrayed by the first eight verses of this grant. Here we should note that "the anthology of *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* contains ten verses by one named Dharmapāla, who, according to N. N. Dasgupta, is none but the king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa." (See, 'King Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa as a poet', *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. iv, pp. 56-57, referred to in B. K. Barua's *CHA*, p. 157.)

In two other anthologies also verses are ascribed to Dharmapāla. Most of these verses are common with the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* verses and altogether we have now some sixteen verses ascribed to Dharmapāla in the various anthologies as follows :

Initial words of the verses	Name of the anthologies
1. अयमलघुविसारि-	<i>Saduktikarṇāmṛta</i> , IV. 12.5 ; <i>Prasannasāhityaratnākara</i> , 511.
2. अविरलपतद्वाष्प-	<i>Saduktikarṇāmṛta</i> , II. 57.1.
3. आमूललग्नफल-	<i>Prasannasāhityaratnākara</i> , 1315.
4. किञ्चित्पादनिपीडनात्-	<i>Ibid</i> , 681.
5. त्यक्तं जन्मवनम्	<i>Saduktikarṇāmṛta</i> , IV. 45.1.
6. दिनमणिरनर्ध-	<i>Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa</i> , 877.
7. दैत्योत्पातेन्दुलेखा	<i>Prasannasāhityaratnākara</i> , 273.
8. लावण्यजलधिवेला	<i>Prasannasāhityaratnākara</i> , 312.
9. लीलाम्भोरुहकाननेन	<i>Saduktikarṇāmṛta</i> , I. 91.2.
10. शरत्काले चण्डः	<i>Ibid</i> , V. 14.2.
11. शीतं मधुरमपि	<i>Saduktikarṇāmṛta</i> , II. 67.2.
12. शौर्याभिमान	<i>Ibid</i> , V. 51.4.
13. स पातु विश्वमद्यापि	<i>Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa</i> , 64.
14. सूर्ये चास्तमुपागते	<i>Saduktikarṇāmṛta</i> , V. 15.5.
15. सोढं द्वास्थित	<i>Ibid</i> , V. 43.1.
16. हारो नारोपितः	<i>Ibid</i> , II. 86.2.

But we cannot be sure if all these verses were by Dharmapāla the poet-king of Kāmarūpa. Vidyākara, the author of *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* most probably belonged to the 11th century and as such he is not likely to have been acquainted with the compositions of King Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa who is placed in the 12th century A.C. King Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa was two or three generations earlier than King Lakṣmaṇasena of Gauḍa

and as such he is most likely to have been known to Śrīdharadāsa, the author of *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, who belonged to the court of Lakṣmaṇasena. Nandana's *Prasannasāhityaratnākara* is a still later work. Hence, we may tentatively hold that Dharmapāla, the poet-king of Kāmarūpa was known to Nandana as a poet.

Line 16 : *Samkhyāta* means *vikhyāta*, famous. The portion "*prāḡjyotiṣā-
dhipatya* - - - *-mahārājādhirāja*" is common to some of the earlier
inscriptions of Kāmarūpa.

Line 18 : *Śrīmadhusūdanasatka* ; *Satka* is "Sanskritised from *Prākṛita
santaka* ; 'the holding of ' 'belonging to ' " (*Glossary*,
p. 306) *Śrīmadhusūdana*, might mean an individual or the (temple
of) god Madhusūdana. P. N. Bhattacharyya takes it to mean the
land presided over by Śrīmadhusūdana, (the god)³⁴.

1. But it becomes difficult to explain as to how a land already
known to be in the name of a temple could be once again made
over with the help of the present grant.

2. We may also presume that it means that the donated land
included the land already 'belonging to' an individual Śrīmadhu-
sūdana. But the fact, that the name of the present donee is also
Madhusūdana, presents further difficulty.

Hence, I like to explain that the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana was
already possessing some land around a temple of Śrīmadhusūdana
(i.e., Mādhava, Viṣṇu). Since he was a celebrated religious leader,
the land till then lying under his possession was popularly known
as the 'possession of (the devotee of the god) Madhusūdana'
(i.e., *madhusūdanasatka*). The virtuous king Dharmapāla made
over some more land in the name of this celebrated devotee and
gave legal sanction to his possession already known as *Madhusūdana-
satka* (or the holding of Madhusūdana). The reference to the land
with the popular name *Madhusūdanasatka* was necessary for a
popular identification of the land by all the people including those
who are mentioned particularly in the immediately following two
lines (Nos. 19 and 20). The initially missing word in line 47 is
conjectured by me to be *Śrīmadhusūdanasatka*. If this emendation
is tentatively accepted, then we may explain that in lines 46, 47
the entire land is deemed fit to be referred to as the 'land belonging
to Śrīmadhusūdana' sliced off³⁵ from the land of Guheśvara Ḍigdola
Vṛddha Grāma. It is interesting that the place-name Guheśvara

³⁴ *Śrīmadhusūdanādhiṣṭhita*, in Bengali.

³⁵ This meaning is given by the expression *apakṛṣṭa*, as explained under the
Khanāmukh C. P. grant above.

was not a peculiarity only of Kāmarūpa ; for, we have the mention and description of a Guheśvarapāṭaka (the capital of the Bhaumakara kings of Orissa) in the Śāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādevī (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIX, No. 10.)

Lines 21-23 : See under the grants of Balavarman III for notes on the technical terms.

Verse 9 : This verse has an Utprekṣā alaṃkāra and is very rich in Yamaka and Anuprāsa.

Verse 10 : There is a Bhrāntimadalaṃkāra here ; and there is also a good deal of *padalālitya* on account of the alliteration (*Anuprāsa*) of *nda* and presence of the conjunct consonants *mba* and *nma* as I have explained in my paper, 'The three qualities of Māgha' in the *Professor Birinchi Kumar Barua Commemoration Volume*.

Verse 11 : In the fourth foot of this stanza, we have an Upamā, involved in a Samāsa.

Verse 13 : *Guṇagaṇa* is supposed to imply the whole quantity of fame. Fame is white and *sudhā* is also white. Here liquid *sudhā* is imagined to have been condensed and compressed so as to be available in larger lumps. A *piṇḍa* is a lump and *piṇḍatara* is a better or a larger lump.

Verse 14 : *Māṃsalikṛtamatiḥ* literally means 'whose intellect has put on (more) flesh' or so to say 'whose intellect has enlarged'. *Cāṇakya-māṇikyabhūḥ*, means a source-land (*bhūḥ*) for the jewels in the shape of the knowledge of Cāṇakya (i.e., the knowledge of polity as propounded by Cāṇakya, the master of Arthaśāstra). *Mīmāṃsānaya* may be taken to be two words, when *naya* would mean Nitiśāstra or polity. But this seems to be redundant in view of the reference to Cāṇakya in the same place. Hence, I have taken this to be a single word so as to mean only 'a śāstra (in general)' or a *knowledge* thereof with the word *naya*. Thus, *mīmāṃsānaya* means the knowledge of mīmāṃsa. cf.

समवायिकारणं च ज्ञेयमथाप्यसमवायिहेतुत्वम् ।

एवं न्यायनयज्ञेयस्त्रुतीयमुक्तं निमित्तहेतुत्वम् ॥

(*Bhāṣāpariccheda*, 1-17) where न्यायनय is one word.

This verse (i.e., No. 14) is significant in so far as it informs us that Mīmāṃsā, Śruti (Vedas) and Smṛiti (Dharmaśāstras), the

three important branches of learning, were duly studied in ancient Kāmarūpa.

Verse 15 : There is a Lāṭānuprāsa Alamkāra in the last foot of this verse.

Verse 16 : In this verse also the poet Aniruddha excels in the presentation of Anuprāsa and Yamaka Alamkāras.

Verse 17 : There are Paramparita Rūpakas and a Lāṭānuprāsa (मृगशा-
वनेत्रा नेत्रामिधा) in this verse.

Verse 18 : There is a Rūpaka in *Sakalaviprakulapradīpa* and Anuprāsas in the last foot of this verse.

Verse 19 : *Satadhṛti*, in the sense of Brahmā, the creator, is a rare word, not noticed even in the *Amarakośa*. In the second half of the verse there are two Upamās and there is a Lāṭānuprāsa in *Patreṭiśatapratramukhī*.

Verse 20 : For various suggestions regarding the identification and location of the Kāmarūpanagara, see notes under the Gactal C.P. grant of Gopāla.

Kīrti (fame) is white according to poetic convention or *kavi-samaya* and hence it is very conveniently compared to a female swan (*varatā*), all white in colour except for the beak and the feet. cf. राजहंसास्तु ते चन्द्रचरणैर्लोहितैः सिताः । (*Amarakośa*, *Siṃhādivarga*).

Lines 46 to 56 : giving the boundary, are full of Prākṛita forms and local names. Whatever meaning could be made out is given in the translation itself. For the philological explanation of some of the terms see B. Kakati's note on 'place and personal names in the early land grants of Assam' presented as Appendix I to *CHA* pp. 226-233.

No. 21. **KAMAULI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA**
(c. 1142 A.D.)

References—Arthur Venis, *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 347-358 ; S. K. Maity and R. R. Mukherjee, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, pp. 370-386 ; A. K. Maitreya, *Gaudālekhamālā*, pp. 127-146.

Place and history—A villager while ploughing a field in the village Kamauli situated near the confluence of the rivers Varuṇā and Gaṅgā at Varanasi in October 1892 found twentyfive copper-plate inscriptions together. R. H. Brereton, the then District Magistrate of Benares sent the inscriptions to Arthur Venis, the then Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College. Three of the said twentyfive inscriptions make the present grant of Vaidyadeva. Subsequently in July 1893 all the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. The present grant is now available in the Lucknow State Museum under the Accession No. E-38, with surplus Nos. S 2967 (the Royal Seal), 68, 69 and 70. (vide catalogue of Archaeological Exhibits in the U.P. Provincial Museum, Lucknow, Pt. I—Inscriptions, by Pt. Hiranand Shastri.)

Date—It is recorded in the inscription (v. 28) that the land has been donated on an *ekādaśī* (i.e. *harivāsara*) coinciding with a Viṣuva-samkrānti. On the basis of this astronomical information and a consideration of the chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties of Bengal, Arthur Venis has fixed the date of the inscription as 1142 A.D. and the same generally remains undisputed till today.

Description—The grant consists of three copper plates attached to the hook-like bend of the handle of a laddle-shaped seal containing simply the figure of a seated four-handed Gaṇeśa. The plates measure $9\frac{3}{4}$ " by 7". Their margins are slightly thickened outwards. There is inscription in the inner side of the first plate and on both the sides of the second and the third plates. The outer side of the third plate contains nine lines while all other inscribed pages contain sixteen lines each.

With this grant two villages called Śāntipātaka and Mandarā, situated in the Bādā viṣaya of the Prāgjyotiṣa *bhukti* of the Kāmarūpa *maṇḍala* have been donated to a brāhmaṇa named Śrīdhara by Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī Vaidyadeva, who governed from a place called Hamsakoñcī, in the fourth year of his rule.

Script—The script is Devanāgarī, as it has been current in the 12th century A.D. F. Kielhorn, while discussing the script of the Assam Plates of Vallabha in the *Ep. Ind. V*, prefers to call the script of Vaidyadeva's plates the Pāla variety. Arthur Venis speaks of the script as approaching 'more closely to the modern Bengali character.' It may be pointed out that particularly the letters ओ, ग, न, ब, य have already assumed forms similar to those of the modern Assamese/Bengali script. The *visarga* and the *anusvāra* here are same as in the modern Assamese/Bengali script. The letters ए, ख, ज, त, घ, ङ, ष, प्र, झ and ञ are very near to their modern forms. the ए-कार approaches the modern shape with a curvature hanging from the *mātrā*; but its length is half that of the consonant to which it is attached. The औ-कार is also same as its modern form except for the shortness of the ए-कार involved. Regarding the script the following points also deserve to be noted : (i) As in the Guwākuchi grant of Indrapāla, here also the *mātrā* is given in the form of a right-angled triangle, (ii) As in the modern Assamese/Bengali script, here also, there is no *mātrā* over the letters ख, ग, ण and श. (iii) A sign for the elided *a* (लुप्त अ) is given in several places. (iv) Both the letters प and य are identical in appearance. Likewise there is no difference in look between the letters च and र. Practically व is also similar to च and र, with only this thin line of difference that while in the latter ones the left-hand bend is angular in shape, it is curved in the former. This feature viz., several letters having the same appearance may be found also in the plates of Vallabha. (v) Here we have two forms of the initial *i*. In this letter two circles are put side by side either with a circumflex at the top (e.g. in *iti* in line 3) or with a sign like the English numeral three below (e.g. in *iva* in line 45).

Language and Orthography—This inscription contains 38 verses in various metres and fifteen lines of prose. The language is Sanskrit, but the prose portion is full of Deśī words and the verse portion also exhibits a good deal of influence by the local Prākṛit of the day. Expressions like *vaiśākha prathamādinā* (line 52) and *buḍhipokhiri* (line 57) are more Assamese than Sanskrit. Avoidance of a necessary *Sandhi* as in line 26 is a sort of Prakritism. The following orthographical peculiarities deserve to be noted : (i) No distinction is maintained between *b* and *v*. (ii) There is a lot of confusion in respect of the distinction between the sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*; one sibilant is often indiscriminately used for another. (cf. lines, 9, 14, 15, 29, 36, 42, 49, 51, etc.). Sometimes confusion is made also between *ṇ* and *n*, e.g. in line 39. (iii) There is no uniformity with regard to reduplication after a *repha*, (iv) Reduplication is some-

times avoided even where it is otherwise necessary, e.g., *tatvabodha* for *tattvabodha* (line 6) and *satvapradhānāsayaḥ* for *śattva*³⁶ (line 29). (v) Sometimes no distinction is maintained also between *r* and *i* or *ī*, e.g., *śṛdhara* for *śrīdhara* (line 52) and *kṛtvā* for *kṛtvā* (line 58). (vi) A final *m* is invariably represented by an *anusvāra*. (vii) An *anusvāra* is often given for a *ṇ* (line 6) while an *anusvāra* is represented also by a *n* (line 37). An *anusvāra* is retained even when it is followed by a vowel, e.g. *evaṃ aṣṭasīmā* in line 61.

There are a lot of scribal omissions and commissions, and some of them are pointed out in the inscription itself.

Metres—vv. 1, 2, 6, 24, 32, Āryā; vv. 3, 25, 27-30, 33, 35-38, Śloka; vv. 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18-20, 26, 31, 34, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; vv. 5, 23, Rathoddhatā; v. 7, Upajāti of Vamśasthavila and Indravamśā; v. 13, Vasantatilakā; v. 14, Hariṇī; v. 17, Mālinī; v. 21, Vamśasthavila; v. 22, Mandākrāntā. The metre of v. 10 remains unidentified. There is a metrical flaw in the second foot of v. 23. Verse 30 consists of six feet.

TEXT³⁶

First Plate : Inner Side

1. ९³⁷ ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानसम्भः³⁸ कुम्भः
संसारबीजरक्षायाः । हरिदन्तर-
2. मितमूर्तिः³⁹ क्रीडापोत्री हरिज्जयति⁴⁰ ॥१॥⁴¹ एतस्य दक्षिणदशो⁴² वंशे
मिहिरस्य जातवान् पूर्वम् ।⁴³ विग्रहपा-
3. लो नृपतिः सर्वाकारद्विसंसिद्धः⁴⁴ ॥२॥ यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः ।
योगदेव इति ख्यातः
4. स्फुरद्दोर्हण्डविक्रमः ॥३॥ तस्योज्ज्वलपौरुषस्य⁴⁵ नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः
पालकुलान्धिशी-

³⁶ Prepared in the light of photographs given in the *Ep. Ind.* vol. II.

³⁷ Arthur Venis has not shown the *añjī* in the text given by him.

³⁸ Although no distinction has been maintained between *b* and *v* in the original, we have preferred to emend the text here in this respect for convenience of reading.

³⁹ Read मितमूर्तिः.

⁴⁰ Read हरिज्जयति.

⁴¹ In the original, verse-numbers are not given.

⁴² In the *Ep. Ind.* it is wrongly printed as दक्षिणदशो.

⁴³ Read जातवान् पूर्वम्. In other places corrections in respect of the final *m* are not indicated.

⁴⁴ Read सर्वाकारद्विसंसिद्धः.

⁴⁵ Read तस्योज्ज्वलपौरुषस्य.

5. तकिरणः साभ्राज्यविख्यातिभाक् ।⁴⁶ तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभूलाभाद्यथावद्यशः
क्षोणीनायकभीम-
6. रावणबधाद्युद्धार्णवोल्लङ्घनात्⁴⁷ ॥४॥ यस्य शुद्धसचिवः पुराभवद्वोधिदेव इति
तत्त्वबोधभूः । विश्वगेव⁴⁸ वि-
7. दितोऽद्भुतैर्गुणैरुज्जितात्मसदृशः क्षितावयं ॥५॥ अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्मद्वि-
कीर्तिविभ्रान्तिः⁴⁹ ।
8. विभ्रान्तिः ।⁵⁰ आसीदसीमकान्तिः सन्तोषस्याकृतिः पत्युः ॥६॥ अभूदमुष्या-
न्तनयोऽस्य विभ्रतः श्रीवे⁵¹
9. श्रीवैद्यदेवः परया श्रिया युतः । यदुच्छलत्कीर्तिशरोवरोद(रे)⁵² पद्माङ्कुराभः
शिवभूधरो-
10. भवत् ॥७॥ देवज्ञेषु च तर्ककेषु च जनुदिष्टस्य⁵³ दिष्टिश्रुतेरन्नस्वप्नघृतीर्जर्भटित्य
रिमटैरुन्मु-
11. ज्य समूर्च्छितं । किञ्चैतन्निजबन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्भूतहृषाम्बुभिः⁵⁴ पारक्यप्रसरप्रतापद-
हनस्याभूद्विनि-
12. र्वीपणं ॥८॥ सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रस्य सचिवः साभ्राज्यलक्ष्मीजुषः प्रख्यातस्य
कुमारपालनृपते-
13. श्रित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटकृतप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैष्यति
14. विधोर्विम्बाङ्कुरी⁵⁵ मृगः ॥९॥ सचिवसमाजशरोजतिग्मभानुः⁵⁶ प्रसरयशोऽम्बु-
धिरेष वैद्यदेवः । स-
15. हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेशः सजनमनःकुमुदेषु शीतरश्मिः⁵⁷ ॥१०॥ यस्यानुत्तर-
वङ्गसङ्गरजये नौवाट-
16. ह्रीहीरवप्रस्तैर्द्विकिरिभिश्च⁵⁸ यन्न चलितं चेन्नास्ति तद्गम्यभूः । किञ्चोत्पातुक-
केनिपातपतनप्रोत्सर्पितैः

⁴⁶ Read ०विख्यातिभाक्.

⁴⁷ Read ०वोल्लङ्घनात्.

⁴⁸ Read तत्त्वबोधभूः विश्वगेव.

⁴⁹ Read धर्मद्विकीर्ति०.

⁵⁰ विभ्रान्तिः is redundant.

⁵¹ श्रीवे is redundant.

⁵² रे has been left out in the body of the text, but supplied in the bottom margin with the numeral sign for 9, indicating the ninth line. The omission is indicated in the body of the text with a *kākapada* sign. Read ०सरोवरोदरे.

⁵³ Read तर्ककेषु च जनुदिष्टस्य.

⁵⁴ Ep. Ind. wrongly prints प्रोद्भूत० for प्रोद्भूत०.

⁵⁵ Read विधोर्विम्बाङ्कुरी.

⁵⁶ Read ०सरोज.

⁵⁷ Read शीतरश्मिः.

⁵⁸ Read त्रस्तैर्द्विक०.

Second Plate : Obverse

17. शीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्यान्निष्कलङ्कः शशी ॥११॥ गोदेशस्य कुमारपालनृपते-
18. होर्वीर्यतेजस्पतेः⁵⁹ त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्पतेः । ससाङ्गक्षितिपाधिपत्वमभितः
19. संचिन्तयन्नुग्रहीः प्राणेभ्योप्यतिबन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणीः ॥१२॥ एतादृशे हरिहरिद्वि स-
20. त्कृतस्य श्रीतिङ्ग्यदेव⁶⁰ नृपतेर्विकृति निशम्य । गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव उरुकीर्ति-
21. रयं नियुक्तः ॥१३॥ स्रजमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञां प्रभोरुतेजसः⁶¹ । कतिपयदिनैहत्वा⁶² जिष्णुः प्रयाणमसौ
22. द्रुतं । तमवनिपति जित्वा युद्धे बभूव महीपतिर्निजभुजपरिष्पन्दः⁶³ साक्षाद्वि-
वस्पतिविक्रमः ॥१४॥ ए-
23. तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशूत्करैः स्थण्डिलप्राये व्योमतलेक्क⁶⁴ सप्तिकगणे-
24. लब्धोऽङ्घ्रि यानध्रमः ।⁶⁵ किञ्चाक्षिद्वयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियास्वक्षमः सुत्रामा नय-
25. नानिमोलनकरं कर्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥१५॥ दोहण्डारणिजे⁶⁶ हविर्भुजि भट-
व्रातेन्धनैरेधिते
26. संग्रामाध्वरयुजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्श्रीफलैः⁶⁷ कृत्वा होमविधिं परिक्षितिभु-
27. जा दत्त्वाथ⁶⁸ पूर्णाहुतिं लब्धोदग्रयशो⁶⁹ महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥१६॥
यदुरुसमरमध्यात्⁷⁰ खड्गघातो-

⁵⁹ Read नृपतेर्होर्वीर्यं.

⁶⁰ Arthur Venis reads श्रीतिमृग्यदेव, but opines that it might be तिङ्ग्य also. But as we see तिङ्ग्य is more probable.

⁶¹ Read प्रभोरुतेजसः. Arthur Venis has left it unemended.

⁶² Read दिनैर्दत्त्वा.

⁶³ Read महीपतिर्निजः०..

⁶⁴ Read व्योमतलेक्क. Arthur Venis gives the corrected form in the body of the text.

⁶⁵ Reduplication of ल at the beginning of this line has not been noticed by Arthur Venis.

⁶⁶ Read दोहण्डारणिजे.

⁶⁷ Read लसच्छ्रीफलैः.

⁶⁸ Read दत्त्वाथ.

⁶⁹ Read लब्धोदग्र०.

⁷⁰ Read ०मध्यात्.

28. तपतद्भिः परछभटशिरोभिर्व्योम⁷¹ कीर्णं निरीक्ष्य । भटिति विसरराहुयूहधी-
विभ्यदर्कः⁷² स्व-
29. रुचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छयन्⁷³ स्वं जुगोप ॥१७॥ चन्द्रस्योद्भवभूमहीध्रसरणं⁷⁴
सत्त्वप्रधानाशयः⁷⁵ पा-
30. त्रश्रीमहितः स्फुरद्रसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः श्रियः कुलगृहं
स्वान्तस्थित-
31. श्रोपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्यदि जलाधारोऽथवा लङ्घितः⁷⁶ ॥१८॥ ज्ञानै-
गीष्पतिरुज्जितैर्हितपतिः⁷⁷
32. सत्पौरुषेः श्रोपतिर्द्वैत्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वनैर्द्वनपतिर्दानैः⁷⁸ स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चैतेपि
गिरोपमानविषयाः

Second Plate : Reverse

33. प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्बलाद्रूम⁷⁹ किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्वैर्गुणानां गणैः ॥१९॥
यस्य श्रीबुधदेव इत्यनुजभूः
34. श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्ततदसीमनिर्मलगुणेर्द्धर्मद्विःशीलद्विभूः^{79a} । दानैः शोभन-
पल्लवैर्द्विज-⁸⁰
35. कुलप्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरुह⁸¹ प्रतिकृतिर्द्वौर्वीच्यजृम्भायसाः⁸² ॥२०॥
अथाम-

⁷¹ Read ०शिरोभिर्व्योम.

⁷² Ep. Ind. wrongly prints ०राहुव्यह.

⁷³ Read प्रोच्छयन्.

⁷⁴ Read शरणं.

⁷⁵ Read सत्त्व०.

⁷⁶ Read लङ्घितः.

⁷⁷ Read गीष्पतिरुज्जितैर्हितपतिः.

⁷⁸ Read श्रीपतिर्द्वैत्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वनैर्द्वनपतिर्दानैः, Ep. Ind. wrongly gives the original as श्रीपतिर्द्वैत्यैः०.

⁷⁹ Read ब्रूमः. ^{79a} Read ०गुणैर्द्धर्मद्विःशीलद्विभूः.

⁸⁰ Read पल्लवैर्द्विज०. An alternative reading सत्फल०, followed by the numerical sign 2, is given at the top margin and in the body शोभन is cancelled by cutting the *matrās*.

⁸¹ Read कल्पमहीरुह. Ep. Ind. wrongly gives ०रुह

⁸² Read प्रतिकृतिर्द्वौर्वीच्यचञ्चदयशाः. In the body जृम्भाय is cancelled with cut marks in the *mātrā* and the alternative चञ्चय is given in the bottom margin with the numerical sign 3 following.

36. वत⁸³ कौषिकसज्जको मुनि मुनीन्द्रमुख्यो⁸⁴ निजगोत्रपूरुषः । पयोजजन्मास्य-
चयभमशमात्⁸⁵
37. यदास्यपद्मे तु छलं गिरा स्थितं ॥२१॥ एतद्वन्से⁸⁶ महति भरतः प्रादुरासीत-
द्विजातिर्भावग्रामे
38. प्रविसरयसाः⁸⁷ शासनोपे वरेन्द्रयां अस्तामन्यद्⁸⁸ गुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमाश्रा-
द्यज्ञानोऽ-
39. पि स्फुटति निखिलः किर्णिषाणां⁸⁹ प्रपञ्चः ॥२१॥ अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः
पुत्र इ-
40. त्यभवत्तुधधिश्वरः शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रोत्रियत्वविलसद्यशोनिधिः ॥२३॥ पाद्⁹⁰
41. ति धर्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविश्रान्तिः । असीदसीमकान्तिः⁹¹ शीलौदायश्रीयां⁹²
42. वसतिः ॥२४॥ पूर्वपूर्वजनुजन्मकम्मपाकदभूत्तुतस्तस्यैतस्यां⁹³ द्विजाधीशपूज्यः⁹⁴
श्रीश्रीध-
43. रः परः ॥२५॥ तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां⁹⁵
करणाद्देवैकचरणात् सव्वो-
44. त्तः⁹⁶ श्रोत्रियः ॥ प्रातर्नक्तमयाचितोपवसनैद्येन⁹⁷ स्वयं गुग्गुलोराकर्षाद्वरदः
कृतोत्र हि कलौ शी⁹⁸-
45. सोमनाथः प्रभुः ॥२६॥ कर्मब्रह्मविदां मुख्यः सर्वोकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तर-
हस्येषु⁹⁹ वागीश इव वि-
46. भ्रुतः ॥२७॥ एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद् वैद्यदेवक्षीतीश्वरः¹ । वेशाखे विशुत्याश्च²
स्वर्गार्थं हरिवासरे ॥०॥२८॥

⁸³ Read अथाभवत्.

⁸⁴ Read मुनिमुनीन्द्र०.

⁸⁵ Read ०भ्रमश्रमात्.

⁸⁶ Read एतद्वंशं. Arthur Venis has not noticed the use of *n* for *anusvara*.

⁸⁷ Read प्रादुरासीद् ... प्रविसरयशाः.

⁸⁸ Read आस्तामन्यद्.

⁸⁹ Read किर्त्तिषाणां.

⁹⁰ Read पाद्. *Ep. Ind.* gives only the corrected form. According to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.* v.) the verticle line, which makes it *i* is quite clear in the impression, though not seen in the photolithograph.

⁹¹ Read आसीदसीम०.

⁹² Read शीलौदार्यश्रीयां.

⁹³ Read पूर्वपूर्व...कर्मपाकादभूत्.

⁹⁴ Read द्विजाधीशपूज्यः.

⁹⁵ Read तथाध्यापनाद्यज्ञानां.

⁹⁶ Read सर्वोत्तरः.

⁹⁷ Read प्रातर्नक्त—वसनैद्येन.

⁹⁸ Read श्री.

⁹⁹ Read स्मार्त्तरहस्येषु.

¹ Read क्षीतीश्वरः.

² Read विशुवत्याश्च.

47. स्वस्ति हंसाकोट्टीसमावासितध्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात् ।³ परममाहेश्वरः परमवैष्णवः
महाराजाधि-
48. राजः । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान्⁴ वैद्यदेवदेवः कुशली । श्रीप्रागज्योतिष-
भुक्तौ कामरु⁵ -

Third Plate : Obverse

49. पमण्डले । वाडाविसये⁶ भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथा-
प्रधानप्रतिवासि । चट्टभट्टविस-
50. यिल्लकादिजनपदान्⁷ कर्षकाश्च यथात्यागं⁸ मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति चः⁹
मतमस्तु भवतां । एतद्द्वयं¹⁰
51. चतुःशीमावच्छिन्नं¹¹ । परिबोधशुद्धं¹² अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं¹³ सजलस्थलं । अकिञ्चित्-
करग्राह्यं¹⁴ चतुर्थाब्द-
52. सं वैशाखप्रथमादिचा¹⁵ गुग्गुली श्रीश्रीधरशर्मणे¹⁶ चतुःशतिकं¹⁷ शासनीकृत्य
प्रदत्तमस्माभिः तदेतस्मिन्¹⁸
53. विधेया भवेतेति । सं ४ सूर्यगत्या¹⁹ वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥०॥ सन्तिवडा-
मन्दराग्रामयोरेकीभूय अष्टसीमा ।

³ Read स्कन्धावारात्.

⁴ Read श्रीमान्.

⁵ Read कामरु०. *Ep. Ind.* gives only the corrected form.

⁶ Read वाडाविषये. From line 49 to line 61 the whole passage is full of Prakrit forms. Hence, the emendations are only tentative.

⁷ Read जानपदान्.

⁸ Read यथात्यागं.

⁹ Read च.

¹⁰ Read एतद्द्वयं.

¹¹ Read चतुःसीमा०.

¹² Read परिबोधशुद्धं.

¹³ Read ०प्रवेशं.

¹⁴ Read भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चित्करग्राह्य. The word भूच्छिद्रञ्च is supplied at the top margin with the numerical figure 3 following. In the body of the text there is a *kākapada* sign to indicate the omission.

¹⁵ Read वैशाखप्रथमदिने.

¹⁶ Read श्रीश्रीधर०.

¹⁷ Arthur Venis reads चतुःशतिकं. But we do not see the *anusvāra*.

¹⁸ Read तदेतस्मिन्.

¹⁹ Read भवेतेति—सूर्यगत्या.

54. श्रिनयकृतः²⁰ ॥ पूर्वदिशस्तावत्²¹ दिग्दाण्डिधरमादाय यावत् पश्चिमकूलशीमा²² ॥
ईशानदिशः²³ शिङ्गिआध-
55. रशीमा²⁴ लेङ्गवडाभोग्ये कंसपलभू²⁵ १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीन-
वधराशीमा²⁶ ॥
56. शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयारातिपोला उणैपोला²⁷ विरामादाय वाय-
57. व्यादिस²⁸ पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा²⁹ अम्हडाचौवोल । बुडिपोखिरिपूर्वधर-
कूलाचापडि अ-
58. छवलपुराणधम्मालि पश्चिमा यावत्³⁰ पश्चिमदिशः शीमा किञ्चिद्दूरं कृत्वा³¹
नैश्वस्यदिशो ध-
59. म्मालिमादाय नैपोश्रङ्गारयो विवादभूमेवाञ्च्यङ्गमादाय³² लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेत-
घाटचम्पकः शीमा³³ वे-
60. लवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिशः कुम्भकारभोग्य वहिः शीमा³⁴ कोण्टोहाडाद्वोल-
यावत्³⁵ हेलावणमुपडमा-
61. दाय दिग्दाण्डिस्तावत् ।³⁶ अग्निदिशः सीमा । एवं³⁷ अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥
द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुर्दशपङ्क्त्याः ॥³⁸ सन्तिपाट-
62. कसञ्जन्तु³⁹ मन्दराग्रामसंयुतं । वडाविसयसम्बद्ध⁴⁰ भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात्⁴¹ ॥२६॥
सव्वायोपायसंयुक्तं⁴² करोप-

²⁰ Read निर्णयकृता.²¹ Read पूर्वदिशस्तावत्.²² Read यावत्—सीमा.²³ Arthur Venis reads ऐशानदिशः. But as opined by Kielhorn also (*Ep. Ind.* v. p. 182. n), it is clearly ईशानदिशः.²⁴ Read ०सीमा.²⁵ Read कंसपलभू.²⁶ Read ०सीमा.²⁷ Arthur Venice reads उणैपोला. But the present reading is very clear.²⁸ Read वायव्यदिशः²⁹ Read ०सीमा.³⁰ Read यावत्.³¹ Read ०सीमा किञ्चिद्दूरं कृत्वा.³² Read नैपोश्रङ्गारयोर्विवाद०.³³ Read सीमा³⁴ Read सीमा.³⁵ Read ०यावत्.³⁶ Read यावत्.³⁷ Arthur Venice gives एव. But the *anusvāra* is very clear.³⁸ Read चतुर्दश०³⁹ Read संज्ञन्तु.⁴⁰ Read ०विषय.⁴¹ Read निश्चयात्.⁴² Read सव्वायोपाय०.

supreme in the science of archery, and the rider of the host of Kāmboja horses and best of elephants. (v. 12).

Near (the temple of) Mahādeva, situated at the centre of the Hāpyacā *maṇḍala*, and at the vicinity of the town of Kīrtipura, Vallabhadeva, the son of Niḥśaṅkasimha, gave (i.e., established) an alms-house for the hungry ones, at the instance of his father, for his mother's obtaining the heaven for ever. (vv. 13-14).

For the maintenance of this widely celebrated alms-house, the illustrious Vallabhadeva, who has long arms, and who has thrown off the quality of *tamas*, in the śaka year counted with the mountains (7), the sky (0) and the Rudras (11) at the sun's auspicious northwardly course in an auspicious moment under a favourable *rāśi* (i.e., a sign of zodiac), granted, along with the bushes and trees, villages, inhabitants, waters and dry lands, seven villages, duly situated within their four boundaries, the names of which are written here. (vv. 15-17)

Cāḍī and Devunīkoṅcī, and also Sajjāpīgā, Vaṅgaka, (and) Samśrahikoṅcīkā together with Doṣīpātaka and also what is called Soṇīpātaka—these are the seven beautiful villages. The boundary is also carefully written here as a command to the encroacher of land. (vv. 18-19)

On the east is Muṇtakāśvastha, on the west Gośarīdhara, on the north Rājakāni and on the south Karddamālikā. (v. 20).

Outside this boundary, in between Maitaḍā and Dvāripāta six hamlets are given, and also Acaḍāheḍikā. Thaṭhi, Pādharu, Vātholā, Lohataḍī and Rasāyaṇa—these five assistants (are also given) along with their sons and wives. (vv. 21-22).

Whoever be the king in my family coming down from Bhāskara in an unbroken line of succession, to him, Śrī Vallabha, with highly auspicious words, passionately says—"please protect my fame." (v. 23).

And if my own family becomes extinct and some other king occurs, what indeed will I not be to him, who does not obliterate my fame. (v. 24)

If any persons at any time commit any wrong in respect of what is described here in detail and in respect of the locality indicated with boundaries, and if the same (wrong) is ascertained by the brāhmaṇas conversant with the Vedas, then the Primordial Hog would forthwith mete out punishment to them. (v. 25).

Whoever does something favourable, even for a moment and even within his heart, for this alms-house, which is, as it were, both a march to the heaven and a march against the enemies, would in this life become the abode of all prosperity and would have all the enemies defeated, and then in the other life would enjoy the coveted world of the gods. (v. 26).

Those, who are religious-minded by nature and pay attention solely to religious deeds, are likely to do something (for this alms-house). In this life they would enjoy wealth with children and grand-children and

assumed, as a matter of sport, the form of a boar whose body extends upto the end of the quarters. (v. 1).

In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of this (Hari), was born in ancient times king Vigrahapāla who was accomplished with all sorts of prosperity. (v. 2)

Through hereditary succession he had a minister, Jogadeva by name, who was the best amongst the knowers of the Śāstras and possessed a resplendent valour of his arms. (v. 3).

That king (Vigrahapāla) of brilliant valour had a son (named) Rāmapāla, a moon to the ocean in the form of the Pāla family, who enjoyed an empire and fame. He extended his fame duly (i.e., as justified by his name) in the three worlds by gaining the (lost) territory of the father (*Janaka*) (as Rāma won Janakabhū, i.e., Sītā, the child of Janaka), by killing the army chief Bhīma, who was like Ravana (as Rāma killed dreadful Ravana) and by crossing the ocean in the form of a battle-field (as Rāma crossed the battle-field and the ocean). (v. 4).

In the past, he had a minister of pure character, Bodhideva by name, who was an abode of the knowledge of the truth and known everywhere for his wonderful qualities. He was without an equal in the whole world. (v. 5)

His wife was Pratāpadevī, the very resting place of virtue, prosperity and reputation. She was exceedingly graceful and was the embodiment of her husband's satisfaction. (v. 6).

To him was born of her a son, the celebrated Śrī Vaidyadeva, endowed with supreme lustre, in the lake of whose leaping glory the mount Kailāsa looked simply like a lotus-sprout. (v. 7).

Hearing from the astrologers and the sooth-sayers the joyous report of the birth of the aforesaid (Vaidyadeva), the soldiers of his enemies immediately gave up food, sleep and steadiness, and became stupefied. Moreover, the tears of joy, flowing from the eyes of the host of his own friends, extinguished the far-extending fire of the valour of the foe. (v. 8).

This (Vaidyadeva) was a minister after his own heart of the celebrated king Kumārapāla, son of king Rāma and an enjoyer of the fortunes of an empire. The deer which is in the form of a stigma in the orb of the moon would (surely) run away through the fear of being devoured up by the lions made of the gold of the crowns of the enemies and erected in the palace. (v. 9)

This Vaidyadeva was a sun to the lotus in the form of the assembly of ministers, an ocean of far-extending fame, a lord of Campaka (i.e. Karṇa) by virtue of his natural generosity, and a moon to the lilies in the form of the minds of the good men. (v. 10).

That on the occasion of his being victorious in the battle of Southern Baṅga, the quarter-elephants, frightened to hear the noise raised by the

cluster of his boats, did not run away is only because they had no other place to go (i.e., there was no space free from that noise.) Moreover, if the water-particles thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised oars could remain fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become free from its stain. (v. 11).

He (i.e., Vaidyadeva), The foremost amongst the virtuous ones, being endowed with a sharp intellect and remaining entirely engrossed in the thought of the seven constituent parts of the kingdom, became a minister, dearer even than his life, to king Kumārapāla, the Lord of Gauḍa, who was like a sun with the prowess of his arms, whose great glory filled up the three worlds, and who was like Br̥haspati with his intelligence. (v. 12).

The aforesaid widely celebrated Śrī Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauḍa in place of king Tiṅgyadeva, treated with honour in the Eastern Land, after hearing of his (Tiṅgyadeva's) hostility. (v. 13).

Receiving the command with his head like a garland from his greatly glorious master, this victorious (Vaidyadeva), who was as good as the Lord of the Heaven (i.e., Indra) in valour, marched speedily within a few days, defeated that ruler (Tiṅgyadeva) in a battle with the energy of his own arms and became the king himself. (v. 14).

At the time of his great march the sky became like a sacrificial altar prepared with sands on account of the heaps of dust, and the horses of the sun had to experience the fatigue of moving on foot. Moreover, Indra became unable to do any other work because of closing his eyes with both the hands and hence, censured his own deed resulting in the non-closure of eyes. (v. 15).

Śrī Vaidyadeva attained a vast glory as the result (of performing a sacrifice) and shone resplendent having performed a *homa* (i.e., a sacrifice) with (the offering of) *śrīphalas* appearing in the form of the rows of (chopped off) heads of the enemies, and then offering the *pūrṇāhūti* (i.e., the final oblation) with (the body of) the hostile king in a fire, produced from the (friction of the) *araṇi* woods in the form of arms, fed by faggots in the form of the crowds of soldiers, and adored in the sacrifices appearing in the form of battles. (v. 16).

The Sun, seeing the sky covered with the heads of the enemies thrown up by the blow of swords from his (i.e., Vaidyadeva's) vast battle-field, suddenly became alarmed with the idea of (these heads being) a large ring of Rāhus, and concealed himself by covering even his own lustre by dusts. (v. 17).

Vaidyadeva was a source of delight (*candra*) (just as the ocean is the shelter of mountains like Maināka); he was the abode of a disposition where the quality of *sattva* predominates (just as the ocean is the abode of large creatures); he was adorned by the wealth of his ministers (*pātra*) (just as the ocean is adorned with the beauty of its bed); he was full of appealing sentiments (just as the ocean is full of sparkling water); he

was very grave (*gabhīra*) in disposition (just as the ocean is very deep); he was an abode of jewels (just as the ocean is a repository of jewels); he was the very family-residence of Fortune (just as the ocean is the home of Lakṣmī); he was in his heart a devotee of Viṣṇu (just as the ocean is the dwelling place of Viṣṇu); thus Vaidyadeva could be fully similar to the ocean only if he would have been a protector of the fools (*jaḍa=jala*) (just as the ocean is an abode of water) and vanquished (*laṅghita*) by others (just as the ocean crossed by Rāma in the yore) (v. 18).

He was a Brhaspati in knowledge, a Sun in valour, a Viṣṇu in noble personality, an ocean in fortitude, a Kuvera in wealth, and a Karna in generosity. But, indeed, we mention these standards of comparison only with a deference to the (poetic) convention; we would say that with all his numerous qualities he was similar only to his own self. (v. 19).

He (Vaidyadeva) had a younger brother named Śrī Budhadeva, who with his countless pure qualities resembled the younger brother of Śrī Rāma (i.e., Lakṣmaṇa) and was an abode of the wealth of piety and good conduct. He (Budhadeva) had a shining fame resulting from the prowess of his arms, and had the celebrity of being similar to the wish-yielding tree (i.e., the *Kalpavṛkṣa*) because of his gifts, fresh sprouts in the form of good fruits, and because of giving pleasure to the host of birds (*dvijas*) in the form of the host of brahmins (*dvijas*). (v. 20).

Once there was a sage named Kauśika, the foremost amongst the sages and the founder of his own line (*gotra*). In whose lotus-face, the Goddess of Learning takes rest with pleasure after being tired of wandering through the (four) faces of Brahmā. (v. 21).

In the great family of that sage was born a brahmin named Bharata. He had far-extending fame and he lived in the strongly administered village called Bhāva in the Varendrī region. Let alone the enumeration of his other qualities, the mere mention of his name leads the whole domain of sins to disappear. (v. 22).

He (Bharata) had a son named Yudhiṣṭhira, foremost amongst the brahmins and the intelligent ones, the abode of an intelligence purified through the learning of shastras and Vedas, and a repository of brilliant fame arising from his skill in Vedic rites. (v. 23).

The wife of this great scholar was Pāi of boundless beauty, who was a repository of good character, generosity and grace, and was the very solace to his (Yudhiṣṭhira's) heart. (v. 24).

As a result of the maturity of good deeds done in several previous births, to him was born in her the noble son Śrī Śrīdhara, adored by the best of brahmins. (v. 25).

Because of visiting holy places, study of the Vedas, offering of gifts, teaching, performance of sacrifices and rigid observance of vows, he was the foremost of the learned brahmaṇas. Even in this Kali age he

could draw out the Lord Somanātha (i.e., Śiva) from a Guggulu tree and propitiate him by taking the vow of not begging and by fasting both by day and night. (v. 26).

He was the foremost amongst the scholars well-versed in the *Karmakāṇḍa* and the *Jñānakāṇḍa* of the Vedic literature and a repository of all sorts of penances. He became as celebrated as Bṛhaspati through his mastery in the *Śrutī* and the *Smṛti* literature. (v. 27).

To him (i.e., to Śrīdhara) king Vaidyadeva has given this charter on the Viśuvatī (*samkrānti*) on Vaiśākha on an Ekādaśī (*tithi*) for gaining heaven. (v. 28).

Let there be welfare to all. From the illustrious victorious royal head-quarters situated at Hamsākoṇī, the great devotee of Śiva, the great devotee of Viṣṇu Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka illustrious Vaidyadeva remaining in a perfect state of health, greets, informs and commands, as they deserve in order of superiority and proximity, the cultivators and other citizens beginning with the Caṭṭa, the Bhaṭṭa and the Visayillaka, belonging to the villages of Śāntibaḍā and Mandarā, possessed by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa and situated in the *Viśaya* of Baḍā, in the *Maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa, in the *Bhukti* of Prāgyotiṣa, (as follows :) (lines 47 to 50).

Let it be known to you that these two villages, demarcated by their four boundaries, free from hindrances and entry of the constables and their leaders, complete with their waters and dry lands, and according to the principle of *Bhūcchidra* free from every type of tax, are given to Gugguli Śrīdhara-Śarman, along with four hundred (inhabitant workmen) by us, in the fourth year (of our reign) on the first day of Vaiśākha, by issuing this charter. Hence, be obedient to this. Prepared (or registered) in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśākha according to the course of the sun. (lines 50 to 53).

The eight boundaries of the villages of Śāntibaḍā and Mandarā, taken together, are determined (as follows) :

In the eastern direction, the boundary extends from the whole of the land of Digdaṇḍidhara upto the western bank. In the north-eastern direction⁵⁷..... In the northern direction upto Digdaṇḍi there is the boundary of the south-eastern direction. Thus eight boundaries (are indicated). (lines 53 to 61).

To follow the fourteenth line of the second plate. (line 61).

The village called Santipāṭaka, joined to the village of Mandarā, and belonging to the *Viśaya* of Baḍā, along with its waters, dry lands, whole forests, gardens and grazing lands (roads and cattle-tracks), provided with all sources of income and free from all types of taxes and levies shall be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon shall endure and the donee will

⁵⁷ Portions full of Prakrit names are left untranslated for obvious reasons.

have as much utility and fruit of the land as desired, as determined by the Bhūcchidra rule. (vv. 29-30).

Whoever appropriates this land himself or causes somebody else to appropriate will see the destruction of his children and then will have to live in the hell for a full cycle. But the honourable man, who would protect it will prosper with sons and wealth, and then after enjoying the heaven will attain the adorable abode of Viṣṇu for ever. (v. 31).

May the glory of king Śrī Vaidyadeva continue to shine so long as the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountains, the ocean and the earth, etc. remain. (v. 32).

This eulogy has been composed by Śrī Manoratha, born from the womb of Padmā as the son of the brahmin Śrī Murāri, the preceptor of the king. (v. 33).

This is the king, the graceful movements of whose arms desired to create a legend by showing valour in respect of the circle of enemies. And this is that Śrīdhara whose fame has constantly travelled over the world and extends ever anew. (The king) has donated this grant with pleasure to that foremost brahmin simply because of a single word of learned Gorandana, the Superintendent of religious affairs. (v. 34).

This copper-plate has been engraved by the highly intelligent artist Kaṇabhadra, who is courteous, modest and skilled in his work. (v. 35).

To such a charter words of sages are added (as follows) : (line 70).

One who confiscates the land given by himself or by others, becomes worm of the filth and rots with the manes. (v. 36).

By stealing a cow or a single gold coin or even half a finger of land one goes to the hell and all the wealth accumulated by one also gets plunged. (v. 37).

Land has been donated by many kings beginning with Sagara. Who-soever happens to be the master of the land, gets the result (of the donation). (v. 38).

NOTES

On the seal— It might be presumed that the elephant mark of the seals of the earlier Kāmarūpa kings has been very conveniently converted into the figure of Gaṇeśa. But this conversion assumes a greater significance when we find that some 43 years later the Tezpur plates of Vallabha begins with a maṅgala verse addressed to Gaṇeśa and the Dhenukhanā CP inscription of 1392 and the Ghilamorā CP inscription⁵⁸ of 1401 also begin with salutations to Gaṇeśa. The Nilācala CP inscription of Mādhavadeva of about the same period⁵⁹

⁵⁸ For both these inscriptions see *JARS*, III. 2 and *Prācyaśāsanāvalī*, Pp. 93, 96, 186, 188.

⁵⁹ See *Prācyaśāsanāvalī*, plate 1.

begins with a nicely drawn sketch of a four-armed Ganeśa given in the very first inscribed page of the grant.

v. 4.—The expression *janakabhūlābhāt* has a lot of pun. *Janakabhū* means (i) the land of king Janaka of yore, i.e., Mithilā, and (ii) one who is born of Janaka of yore, i.e., Sita, and (iii) 'the land of the father', i.e., the ancestral land. Maity and Mukherjee take it to mean that Rāmapāla regained his ancestors' lost kingdom⁶⁰ Arthur Venis says—"To take *janaka*='father' would spoil the play upon the word."⁶¹

But this verse, in fact, refers to Rāmapāla's (c. 1072—1126 A.D.) feat of killing Bhīma the Kaivarta ruler of North Bengal and the recovery of his paternal territory. This episode is described in Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāmacarita*. (See Majumder, *History of Ancient Bengal*, pp. 146, 149f.)

v.14. From this account it is very difficult to ascertain the nature of the relationship of the king of the East (v. 13) with the Lord of the Gauḍa and the degree of the former's responsibility to the latter. While referring to the Lord of the Gauḍa with all gratitude and respect, Vaidyadeva also describes himself, in the fourth year of his rule, as a Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka. (lines 47-48). Hence, what appears to be more likely is that Vaidyadeva started his career as a vassal of Kumārapāla, and, presumably after the death of the latter, by the fourth year of his rule, declared independence, while maintaining friendly ties with the family of his former master.

v. 15 As the legend goes, gods and goddesses can never close their eyes. Indra now censures his previous deeds because of which he has taken birth as a god.

v. 20. Budhadeva is given in the translation as a younger brother. But the term *anujabhūh* is very vague. It may also mean a nephew. (*anujād bhavati iti*=born of the younger brother, or *anujā bhūh yasya saḥ*. According to the latter explanation, he should be the son of Vaidyadeva's younger sister.)

v. 22 Bhāvagrāma is identified as the modern village Bhabtā, situated 11 *krośas* (22 miles=35 km.) south of the modern town of Bagura in Banglādes. (See KŚ. pp. 30, 40).

⁶⁰ *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 380.

⁶¹ *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 355. n.

v. 26. Śrīdhara's vow not to beg alms, reminds us of brahmin Prahāsa's refusal to accept a huge gift from the Kāmarūpa king Jayapāla (vide Silimpur inscription in *Ep. Ind.* xiii. p. 292, v. 22). Guggulu is 'a particular fragrant gum resin'. The idea of drawing out lord Somanātha from a guggulu tree is vague. But surely Śrīdhara performed some miracle with the same tree so as to earn Guggulī as his surname. (See line 52).

Line 47. Haṁsakoñcī—K. L. Barua says : "Vaidyadeva's victorious camp, Hangsakonchi, from which he issued his grant, appears to have been within the modern district of Kāmrup. The suffix Konchi, Kunchi or Kuchi occurs in the names of numerous villages in this district, e.g. Sualkuchi, Kamarkuchi, Ranakuchi, Patacharkuchi, Vyahkuchi, Kāhikuchi, Majkuchi, Dongarkuchi, etc. Such names are rare even in the contiguous districts of Goalpara, Darrang and Nowgong." (*EHK.* pp. 126f). Here we may also compare the names Debūnikoñcī and Saṁśrahikoñcikā found in the Assam Plates of Vallabha (lines 43, 44), and the names Pāñcolakoñcī (line 14), Ḍaluvākoñci (lines 17, 31-32) and Dudhavakoñcī, found in the Nilācala Plates of Mādhavadeva. (*Prācyaśāsanāvalī*, p. 98 ff).

Line 49. *Bāḍā viṣaya*. There is a village called Bāḍā in the modern Barpetā sub-division of the Kāmrup district. Affinity of this name with Bāḍasepattana of the Uttarbarbil plates of Balavarman III and with Bāḍasojobubā of the Gachtal plates of Gopāla is noteworthy.

Caṭṭa-Bhaṭṭ-Viṣayillaka. Here Caṭṭa = Cāṭa and Bhaṭṭ = Bhata. D. C. Sircar observes : "The Cāṭa and Bhaṭa are a regular occurrence in the list of addressees in North Indian grants of the medieval age We are inclined to take Bhaṭa to mean a constable or a Pāik or Piādā while the Cāṭa seems to have been the leader of a group of them. Cāṭa is also found in the forms Caṭṭa and Cāḍa in later epigraphs." (*Indian Epigraphy*, p. 361). Viṣayillaka or Viṣayillaka may be same as Viṣayavyavahārin, a District Officer mentioned in the list of addressees in the Khalimpur plates of Dharmapāla of the 8th century, or may be same as Viṣayapati, the ruler of a district. But from its being enlisted *after* Caṭṭa and Bhaṭṭa, Viṣayillaka appears to be a smaller official belonging to the district administration.

Line 51. *Bhūcchidra* literally means 'a land unfit for cultivation'. But it seems to refer to all revenue free lands as a technical term. See p. 75 above. Arthur Venis, however, understands that of the donated land only the uncultivated portion is free of taxes. In our opinion, the principle of Bhūcchidra was applicable to whole of the donated land, as it is so very categorically (cf. *niścayāt*) stated in vv. 29, 30.

Accordingly the whole land was free of all varieties of taxes (*karopaskaravarjita*).

Line 52. Arthur Venis translates the word *catuḥśatikam* as 'with a revenue of 400'. As shown above, in his opinion, only the uncultivated portion of the land is tax-free. Hence, the provision for the revenue of 400 for the rest of the land. But in our opinion, as mentioned severally in the charter itself, the land was entirely revenue-free. The term *catuḥśatikam* seems to mean that some four hundred resident husbandmen were also assigned to Śrīdhara for his service. cf. lines 42, 49, 50 in the Assam Plates of Vallabha. The term also cannot mean a land 'enough for yielding 400 standard units of paddy per annum', because two full villages cannot be supposed to have only such a small yield.

Line 53. *Ni* may be an abbreviation of *nirmita*, prepared, but more probably of *nībaddha*, meaning 'registered', as in the Belwa Plate of Mahīpāla I. (*Ep. Ind.* xxix p. 2).

Line 57. *Budḥi pokhiri*—cf. *pokharīvādī* (line 25) of the Nīlācala grant of Mādhava.

Line 61. *dvītiyapaṭakasya caturdaśapāṅktyāḥ*—What is intended is that vv. 29-38 should be read in continuation of v. 28.

v. 36-v. 38. For the variant readings and sources of these three traditional *bhūmidāna* verses see D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 196, p. 184f and p. 180 respectively.

No. 22. ASSAM PLATES OF VALLABHADEVA

(1185 A.D.)

References—Hultzsch, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL. p. 42 ff; F. Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V. p. 181-188.

Place and history—Certain highly celebrated names are associated with this last inscription of the present anthology. Kielhorn gathered from Hultzsch that the plates have been presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by W. Winckler, the then Assistant Executive Engineer of Tezpur. Then the text of the inscription has been published for the first time by Hultzsch. Meanwhile in February, 1886 Fleet took an excellent impression of the document and Kielhorn re-edited the text on the basis of the same impression. Here we are reproducing the text on the basis of the photo-lithograph given by Kielhorn, with necessary improvements. Since the plates were made available to the world of letters for the first time from Tezpur, they are also sometimes referred to as the Tezpur Plates of Vallabha.

Description—This document consists of five copper plates of almost uniform size measuring approximately $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, bunched together with a ring passing through holes given in the middle of upper margin of each plate. The ring must have been again connected with the seal, which is now not available. There are eight pages of writing, viz., on the inner side of the first plate, on both sides of the second, third and the fourth plate and again on the inner side of the fifth plate. There are 63 lines of writing in all with eight lines on each page in the average. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{18}''$. The writing has been found in a very good state of preservation. Plates I to IV are numbered with numeral figures engraved in the middle of the right margin of the second page of each of these plates. The numeral figures 1 and 4 are same as those found in the Kamauli Plates of Vaidyadeva.

Script—The characters of this inscription belong to the eastern variety of the northern alphabet as it was current in the 12th century A.D. Though there are certain notable marks of distinction, the appearance of most of the letters is common to the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva. One of the distinctive features is that here the *mātrā* is a plain line and does not contain the triangle. Here, the script is much nearer to the Assamese alphabet; and many letters have

already assumed forms exactly similar to those in the modern Assamese script; e.g., the numeral figure 1, initial vowels *e* and *o*, all medial vowels except *u*, *ū*, and *r*, and occasionally also except the medial *e* when it is given as a vertical line, the consonants *g*, *n*, *m*, and the conjunct consonants *ñca*, *tta*, *ttra*, *ntu*. The form of certain other letters has approached very near to the same in modern Assamese, e.g., *a*, *ā*, *j*, *ph*, *b*, *y*, *r* and the mark for *repha*. Regarding the script of the Nilācala Copper plate Inscription of Mādhavadeva it is said that "The writing points to a period of time when the Assamese script had fully evolved."⁶² In this context it is very significant to note that many of the letters of these two documents are very conspicuously common, e.g., *i*, *j*, *t*, *t*, *bh*, *ma*, *ś*, *s* and *visarga*,⁶³ etc. As in the plates of Vaidyadeva, here also often two or even three letters have the same form, e.g., *p* and *y*; *n* and *l*; *c* and *r*; *c* and *v*; *v* and *dh*; etc. Another peculiar feature is that some letters have two or more different forms, e.g. *l*. But unlike in the other two inscriptions, mentioned above, here the *anusvāra* is always given in the form of a *bindu* over the *mātrā*.

Language and Orthography—The language of the script is Sanskrit. With the exception of the initial words, *om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* and the final word *iti*, the whole text is in verse, there being in all 29 verses in five different metres. The style appears to be very laboured. Certain words are either unusually coined or used in unusual sense, e.g. *cchurikāra* (l. 34), and *nārapatya* in the sense of rule or reign (l. 20). The language is incorrect in lines 23, 24. Regarding orthography the following points may be noted: (i) No difference is maintained between the letters *b* and *v*. (ii) The three varieties of sibilants are often confounded. (iii) There is no uniformity in the matter of reduplications after a *repha*. The consonant *t* is irregularly reduplicated, when followed by *r*. In one case *l* followed by *y* is reduplicated. (iv) Sometimes *anusvāra* is represented by *ñ*, and a final *m* is represented by an *anusvāra*. (v) The rules of *sandhi* are often violated, i.e., in lines 9, 11, 21, 23, 34, 42, 45 (twice), 47, 51 and 63.

62 M. Neog, *Prācya-śāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 190.

63 What is recognised as *ñ* by M. Neog in the Nilācala grant of Mādhava (i.e. in the word *ekañśati* in line 13) is actually an *i*. D. C. Sircar takes this character to be *ī* (vide, *Jor. Anc. Indian History*, vol. II, Pp. 66-83), though it is claimed to be 'unwarranted' by M. Neog. (*Prācya-śāsanāvalī*, p. 191). This disputed letter occurs only once in the whole of the Nilācala grant. Neither *i* nor *ñ* is found in any other place. But the evidence provided by the grant of Vallabha is very strong. Precisely the same letter is found in as many as five places in the very clearly discernible words *iti* and *iha* in lines 49, 54, 56, 57 and 60.

This charter has been issued by a king named Vallabhadeva of the lunar dynasty in the Śaka year 1107 (*śāke naganabho-rudraiḥ saṁkhyāte*) corresponding to 1185 A.D. Vallabha was the son of Udayakarma Niḥsaṅkasimha and Ahiavadevī, the grandson of Rāyārideva Trailokyasimha and Vasumatī and the great grandson of Bhāskara. He founded an alms house (*bhaktiśālā, annasattra*) for the hungry ones at the vicinity of the town of Kirttipura, situated in the Hāpyacā *maṇḍala*, and with this charter, endowed the same with a number of villages and hamlets and assigned the services of five men and their families.

Metres : vv. 1, 2, 7, 9, 23, Vasantatilakā ; vv. 3, 8, 13—22, 24, 28, 29, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) ; vv. 4, 5, 10, 11, śārdūlavikrīḍitam ; vv. 6, 25-27, Mālinī ; v. 12, Indravajrā.

TEXT

First Plate : Inner Side

1. १^{६४}ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ यद्गण्डमण्डल-^{६५}
2. तदीप्रकटालिमाला वण्णावलीव खदले खलु म-^{६६}
3. जलस्य । लम्बोदरः^{६७} स जगतां यशसां प्रसारमा-
4. नन्दतां शुमणिना सह यावदिन्दुः ॥१॥ पातालपल्लव-
5. ल तलाद्विमुत्पत्तिष्णोऽविष्णोः पुनातु कृतघृष्टि^{६८}-
6. तनोस्तनुर्व्वः । यत्तुण्डखण्डघृतभूनलिनीदलस्य शा-
7. लकनालसदृशौ कमठोरगेन्द्रौ ॥२॥ आसीद् भूमीभु-

Second Plate : Obverse

8. जाम्भौलिमणिजालवरत्त्रिका । येनोपानद्युगे-
9. कारि चन्द्रवदशे स भास्करः ॥३॥ तस्मात्^{६९} शौर्यविभाव-^{७०}-
10. सोर्व्वसुमतीविश्वासजातप्रियो जज्ञे युद्धधुरन्धरो

^{६४} The *āñji* is represented by Kielhorn in the text by the syllable *om*. While in all the inscriptions till that of Vaidyadeva, the *āñji* is like the Devanāgarī 'nine'; here it is like the Assamese/Bengali 'seven'.

^{६५} After this there is a vertical *danda* not noticed by Kielhorn.

^{६६} After this there is another letter looking like *h*, not noticed by Kielhorn.

^{६७} In the original no distinction has been maintained between *b* and *v*. Here we are showing the distinction for the convenience of loud reading.

^{६८} Original घृष्टि, not noticed by Kielhorn.

^{६९} Here an obligatory *sandhi* is avoided.

^{७०} Here there is another redundant letter not noticed by Kielhorn.

11. रिपुवधूवैधव्ययज्ञवजः ।⁷¹ यस्मिन्⁷² श्रीरपवादमु-
12. ज्वलतमं लोलेति जीवावधि चिक्षेप प्रतिपक्षलक्ष-
13. दलनो रायारिदेवो नृपः ॥४॥ येनापास्तसमस्तशस्त्र-
14. समयः सङ्ग्रामभूमौ रिपुशत्रु वङ्गकरीन्द्रसङ्गवि-

Second Plate : Reverse

15. षमे साटोपयुद्धोत्सवे । येनात्यर्थमयं स्वयं सफलित-
16. : त्रैलोक्यसिंहो विधिः सोभूद्भास्करवङ्गराजितिल-⁷³
17. को रायारिदेवो नृपः ॥५॥ उदयमुदयकर्णः पूर्णचन्द्र-
18. : सुमेरौ विबुधसमभिरामेराज्ञि रायारिदेवे । कर-
19. विभवकलापैर्नन्दयन् सर्वलोकान् दधदिह पद-⁷⁴
20. माप इमामृतां मस्तकेषु ॥६॥ निःशङ्कसिंहनृपतेरिहना-
21. रपत्ये भूमीभुजः स्वभुजवीर्यसमुत्सृतानि ।^{74a} सन्तत्यजु-⁷⁴

Third Plate : Obverse

22. यदि नवा गिरिकन्दरेपि तिष्ठन्ति दारविभवाः कथमन्यथा वा ॥७॥ रा-
23. ज्ञो निःशङ्कसिंहस्य महिषी प्राणसम्मिता । नामाहिभवेदेवीति सा-
24. सीदस्यां प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥८॥ निःशङ्कसिंहनृपमानसराजहंसी सङ्गार-⁷⁵
25. केलिकुलकैरवचन्द्रकान्तिः । संशीर⁷⁶सार सरसी सरसी रुहश्री-
26. राविर्वभूवसुषमैकनिवासभूमिः ॥९॥ ताभ्यान्तुङ्गतपःप्रभा-
27. वमुदितात् संलभ्य गौरीपते यः ।⁷⁷ सर्वैर्नृपवीरपुत्र-
28. गरुडे⁷⁸ नारायणो गीयते । लब्धः पुत्रतया प्रसादमनु-
29. लं श्रीवल्लभो वल्लभदेवो वैरिकुमारवारवनिता विक्रा-

Third Plate : Reverse

30. न्तिलीलापतिः ॥१०॥ यस्याखेटकठोरपाटनपटोराटोप-
31. मालोक्तुं । आमूलानाहिषावलीप्रविशतः⁷⁹ शल्लयस्य दे-

⁷¹ Putting of such pauses is very irregular throughout the text.

⁷² Read यस्मिन्. Here also an obligatory *sandhi* is avoided.

⁷³ Here there is another prominent letter not noticed by Kielhorn. Read
०वंशराज०.

⁷⁴ Here there is a redundant vertical *danḍa*.

^{74a} Read ०समुच्छित्तानि०.

⁷⁵ Read शृङ्गार.

⁷⁶ Read संसार०.

⁷⁷ Read गौरीपतेर्यः.

⁷⁸ Read गरुडैर्नारायणो.

⁷⁹ Read आमूलं महिषावली०.

32. वव्रजः⁸⁰ । आयाता जयवल्लभेयनुययुः सर्व्वे वचोभिर्म-
 33. दा तत्रैको विमुखः स्वकाशरपरित्राणाय यातो यमः ॥११॥
 34. खड्गायुधज्ञः च्छुरिकारमुख्यो⁸¹ धानुष्कविद्याप्रथमैकरे⁸²-
 35. खः काम्बोजवाजिप्रजवाहनेन्दयन्ताभवद् वल्लभदेव ए-
 36. व ॥१२॥ ह्यप्यचामण्डलमध्यस्थे⁸³ महादेवस्य सन्निधौ भक्तशीला⁸⁴ क्षु-
 37. धार्त्तानां⁸⁵ कीर्त्तिपूर्वपुरःपुरः ॥१३॥ ददे रल्लभदेवेन⁸⁶ निःशङ्कसि-⁸⁷

Fourth Plate : Obverse

38. हसूनुना । अक्षयस्वर्गलाभाय जनन्या जनकाज्ञया ॥१४॥ एतम्या⁸⁸ भ-
 39. क्कशालाया निर्व्वाहार्थं महाभुजः विशालकीर्त्तिशालिन्याः श्री-
 40. मान् वल्लभदेवकः ॥१५॥ शाके नगनभोरुद्वैः संख्याते चोत्तरायणे⁸⁹
 41. शुभे⁹⁰ शुभे क्षणे राशौ सस्ते⁹¹ व्यस्ततमोगुणः ॥१६॥ सभाटविटपा-⁹²
 42. ग्रामान् सजनान् सजलस्थलान् ददौ ससचतुःशीमासंस्थिञ्चा⁹³
 43. ज्ञामलेखितान् ॥१७॥ चाडी देवूनीकोञ्चीच सजापीगापिवङ्गकः
 44. संश्रद्धीकोञ्चिका चैव डोषीपाटकसंयुता ॥१८॥ सोञ्चीपाटकसज-⁹⁴
 45. श्र सस ग्रामानिमान् शुभान्⁹⁵ । सीमा च लिखिता यत्नात्⁹⁶ भूम्याक-

Fourth Plate : Reverse

46. षंकशासनी ॥१९॥ पूर्वतो मुण्टकाश्वस्थः पश्चिमे गोशरीधरः । उत्तरे
 47. राजकानिश्च दक्षिणे कर्दमालिका ॥२०॥ एतत्सीमावहिष्कृत्य⁹⁷ मैतडा-
 48. द्वारिपाटयोः । मध्ये षट् पाटका दत्ता अचडाहेडिका तथा ॥२१॥ य-
 49. ठिपाधरुवाथोलालोहतडोरसायणौ । इति पञ्च सहाय्याश्च पुत्र-
 50. दारसमन्विताः ॥२२॥ आभास्करादपरिमाणपरंपरीणराज्ये भवे-

⁸⁰ Read देवव्रजाः.⁸¹ Read स्वकासर०.....छुरिकारमुख्यो.⁸² Original looks like धानुष्क. Read प्रथमैकरेखः⁸³ Read ०मध्यस्थमहादेवस्य. There is metrical flaw in this foot.⁸⁴ Read भक्तशाला.⁸⁵ Read क्षुधार्त्तानां.⁸⁶ Read वल्लभदेवेन.⁸⁷ Read निःशङ्कसि०.⁸⁸ Read एतस्या.⁸⁹ Read चोत्तरायणे.⁹⁰ Read शुभे.⁹¹ Read शस्ते.⁹² Read विटपान्.⁹³ Read ०सीमसंस्थिता०⁹⁴ Read संश्रद्धच.⁹⁵ In ग्रामानिमान् शुभान् sandhi is avoided.⁹⁶ Read यत्नाद्. Here also an obligatory sandhi is avoided.⁹⁷ Here obligatory sandhi is avoided. Read एतच्छीमवहिष्कृत्य.

51. यदि नृपः कतमो मदीये । तं तुङ्गमङ्गलगिरा प्रणयात्⁹⁸ ब्रवीति
 52. श्रीवल्लभो मम यशः परिपालयेति ॥२३॥ अस्मद्वंशे परिक्षीणे
 53. कोपि स्याद्यदि भूपतिः । न स्यां को नाम तस्याहं यो मे कीर्त्तिं न
 54. लुम्बति ॥२४॥ इति लिखितसमस्ते सीमसंभिन्नदेशे विदधति यदि

Fifth Plate : Inner Side

55. केचित् कापि पापं कदाचित् । तदिति समवदध्रे ब्राह्मणेर्वेदविद्भिः
 56. सपदि दिशति तेषां शास्त्रिमयो वराहः ॥२५॥ इह छरपुरयात्रामित्र-
 57. यात्रेन्नसत्रे क्षणमणु च विधत्ते योनुकूलं हृदापि । स इह सकलस-
 58. म्पद्वाजनं निर्जितारिरभिमतछरलोके मोदतेमुन्न चैव ॥२६॥ यदि-
 59. इ सहजधर्मा धर्मकर्मैकचित्ताः किमपि किमपि कर्म कापि
 60. ये कुर्वन्ते ते । इह दधतु विभूतिं पुत्रपौत्रैरमुन्न विविधमभिलभन्तां स्वर्ग-
 61. मव्यग्रमुग्रं ॥२७॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् । स विष्टायां
 62. क्रिमिभूर्त्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥२८॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 63. भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य⁹⁹ तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२९॥ इति ।

TRANSLATION

(After the āṅji sign and the syllable *om*). Our salutation to Lord Vāsudeva.

Let that celebrated Lambodara, the row of bees in the slopes of whose round cheeks appear indeed to be like a line of auspicious letters on the leaf of the sky, find pleasure from the spreading of (his) ever extending glories, as long as the moon continues with the sun. (v. 1)

May the body of Viṣṇu, which has assumed the form of a hog, and is engaged in the process of rising to the sky from the bottom of the pool in the form of the *pātāla* (i.e., the nether world), and clinging to which the tortoise and the lord of serpents look like the root (i.e., the bulb) and the stalk of the lotus in the form of the earth, held in its snout, purify you. (v. 2).

In the Candra dynasty there was that celebrated Bhāskara, who on the pair of his shoes put on a strap of multitude of crest-jewels of (the subdued) kings. (v. 3).

From that sun of valour was born king Rāyārideva, dear to the earth (or to queen Vasumatī) because of generating a confidence, a leader in battle, a banner, as it were, of the sacrifice meant for causing the widowhood of the wives of the enemies, a killer of lakhs of adversaries, residing

⁹⁸ Read प्रणयाद् . Here also an obligatory *sandhi* is avoided.

⁹⁹ Read भमिस्तस्य . Here also an obligatory *sandhi* is avoided.

with whom for whole of his life goddess Fortune could keep away the most glaring scandal that she is fickle. (v. 4).

One, who has compelled the enemy to give up the entire tradition of using arms in the very battle ground which staged the festival of a majestic war and was fearful due to the presence of the foremost elephants of Vaṅga, and who has himself duly rendered fruitful the creation of the *Trailokyasiṃha* (i.e., a lion of the three worlds) (in his own person), ~~was~~ that king Rāyārideva, the frontal ornament of the line (of kings) of the family of Bhāskara. (v. 5).

Udayakarna sprang up from king Rāyārideva who was as beautiful as a deity (or, who was pleasing like a moon, or who was pleasing to the gods or the learned men) in the manner of a full moon rising on the peak of the (mount) Sumeru, which is beautiful on account of the association with the moon (or dear to the gods); he acquired a position over the heads of the kings while giving delight to all the people with (reasonable) taxes and heaps of wealth (like the full moon which delights all the people with *karavibhava* i.e., the series of the wealth of its rays) (v. 6).

During the reign of king Niḥśaṅkasimha the kings here surely gave up the uprising of the valour of their arms; otherwise, how their wives and wealths (or, they themselves with their wealth in the form of wives could remain (concealed) in the mountain-caves? (v. 7).

King Niḥśaṅka simha's chief queen was similar to his own life. The name Āhiavadevī remained attached to her. (v. 8).

She was a female swan to the lake Mānasa in the form of the mind (mānasa) of king Niḥśaṅkasimha; (she was) the light of the moon for the lily in the form of the whole host of erotic sport; she had the beauty of a lotus, born as it were in that lake which is the very essence of the mundane life; and she appeared as the only abode of loveliness. (v. 9).

From Lord Śiva (the Lord of Gaurī), who has been delighted by their great austerities, these two (i.e., Niḥśaṅkasimha and Āhiavadevī) received a matchless boon of having the son Vallabhadeva, who used to be sung as Nārāyaṇa by all the Garuḍas appearing in the form of the valorous sons of the kings, and who was a favourite of Śrī, (i.e. the goddess of Fortune) and a master of the courtezans in the form of the princes of the enemy side by virtue of an erotic sport in the guise of heroic deeds. (v. 10).

The host of gods came to witness the pride of his arrow, which is able to pierce through the hard ones and enters deep into the rows of the buffaloes up to the butt in time of his hunting. All of them followed him with the joyful shouting—'Be victorious, oh, Vallabha?' Only one of them, i.e., Yama, came back for protecting his own buffalo. (v. 11).

Vallabhadeva alone knew the secrets of the sword as a weapon; he alone was the foremost of those who handled the dagger, the sole and

supreme in the science of archery, and the rider of the host of Kāmboja horses and best of elephants. (v. 12).

Near (the temple of) Mahādeva, situated at the centre of the Hāpyacā *maṇḍala*, and at the vicinity of the town of Kīrtipura, Vallabhadeva, the son of Nihśāṅkasimha, gave (i.e., established) an alms-house for the hungry ones, at the instance of his father, for his mother's obtaining the heaven for ever. (vv. 13-14).

For the maintenance of this widely celebrated alms-house, the illustrious Vallabhadeva, who has long arms, and who has thrown off the quality of *tamas*, in the śaka year counted with the mountains (7), the sky (0) and the Rudras (11) at the sun's auspicious northwardly course in an auspicious moment under a favourable *rāśi* (i.e., a sign of zodiac), granted, along with the bushes and trees, villages, inhabitants, waters and dry lands, seven villages, duly situated within their four boundaries, the names of which are written here. (vv. 15-17)

Cāḍī and Devunikoñcī, and also Sajjāpīgā, Vaṅgaka, (and) Samśrahikoñcīkā together with Doṣṭipātaka and also what is called Soñcīpātaka—these are the seven beautiful villages. The boundary is also carefully written here as a command to the encroacher of land. (vv. 18-19)

On the east is Muṇtakāśvastha, on the west Gośarīdhara, on the north Rājakāni and on the south Karddamālikā. (v. 20).

Outside this boundary, in between Maitaḍā and Dvāripāta six hamlets are given, and also Acaḍāheḍikā. Thaṭhi, Pādharu, Vātholā, Lohataḍī and Rasāyaṇa—these five assistants (are also given) along with their sons and wives. (vv. 21-22).

Whoever be the king in my family coming down from Bhāskara in an unbroken line of succession, to him, Śrī Vallabha, with highly auspicious words, passionately says—"please protect my fame." (v. 23).

And if my own family becomes extinct and some other king occurs, what indeed will I not be to him, who does not obliterate my fame. (v. 24)

If any persons at any time commit any wrong in respect of what is described here in detail and in respect of the locality indicated with boundaries, and if the same (wrong) is ascertained by the brāhmaṇas conversant with the Vedas, then the Primordial Hog would forthwith mete out punishment to them. (v. 25).

Whoever does something favourable, even for a moment and even within his heart, for this alms-house, which is, as it were, both a march to the heaven and a march against the enemies, would in this life become the abode of all prosperity and would have all the enemies defeated, and then in the other life would enjoy the coveted world of the gods. (v. 26).

Those, who are religious-minded by nature and pay attention solely to religious deeds, are likely to do something (for this alms-house). In this life they would enjoy wealth with children and grand-children and

in the life hereafter would obtain the various delights of heaven in large measures. (v. 27).

One who confiscates the land given by himself or by others, becomes worm of the filth and rots with the manes. (v. 28).

Land has been donated by many kings beginning with Sagara. Whoever happens to be the master of the land, gets the result (of the donation). (v. 29).

NOTES

It is not mentioned in the plates if Vallabha was a king of Kāmarūpa; the seat of his government is also not mentioned. There is also the problem of accommodating as many as three rulers, viz., Bhāskara, Rāyārideva and Udayakarna in between Vaidyadeva and Vallabhadeva within a span of only 43 years, i.e., the difference between 1185, the given date of Vallabha's grant and 1142, the supposed date of Vaidyadeva's grant. If at all Vallabha and his predecessors belonged to Kāmarūpa, did they rule as successors of Vaidyadeva or they were feudatories of Vaidyadeva and his successors genuinely belonging to his own line? Of the four rulers, mentioned in Vallabha's plates, Rāyārideva appears to be the most illustrious one, because of the description of his successful conflict with the ruler of Vaṅga. He was probably more than a mere chieftain or a feudatory. Scholars like H. C. Ray (*Dynastic History of North India*, I), N. N. Vasu (*Social History of Kāmarūpa*), and N. K. Bhattasali (*IHQ*, XXII, pp. 1-14) recognise Vallabha and other three as belonging to ancient Assam as successors of Vaidyadeva. In the Deopārā Inscription (v. 20, vide *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 48) Vijayasena of Bengal is described to have driven away some ruler of Kāmarūpa. (cf. *gaudendram adravad apākrtakāmarūpabhūpaṃ kaliṅgam api yastarasā jigāya*). According to R. C. Majumdar, this king of Kāmarūpa was perhaps Vaidyadeva (*History of Anc. Bengal*, p. 226). According to H. C. Ray (*Ibid*, p. 259 f) this king was Rāyārideva. K. L. Barua (*EHK*, p. 128 ff) opines that Rāyārideva fought on the side of the Kāmarūpa king, who was very probably Vaidyadeva himself. It is his impression that Bhāskara and his successors were feudatory chiefs perhaps under the later Kāmarūpa kings. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that of the seven villages granted by Vallabha, Devuni-Konchi and Sangsrahi-koncika (sic) bear Kāmarūpa names. In the opinion of P. N. Bhattacharya (*KŚ*, Bhūmikā, p. 43, n) Vallabha has nothing to do with ancient Assam, and he ruled over a small territory somewhere to the south-west of Kāmarūpa on the verge of East Bengal. Some of his arguments are as follows: (i) We are not sure if the so-called Assam Plates were found in any place in Assam. (ii) There is no mention of Kāmarūpa or Prāgiyotiṣa at all in these plates. (iii) The script has more affinity with

the script of the Bengal inscriptions and not enough affinity with the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa. (iv) As the genealogy shows, the founder of the line, to which Vallabha belonged, must have been a contemporary of Dharmapāla or Jayapāla. (v) Gait in his *History of Assam* (pub. 1905) did not make any mention of the Assam Plates, presumably because he did not recognise Vallabha to be belonging to Assam.

In our opinion Vallabhadeva ruled in Kāmarūpa, most probably as an independent ruler, and his kingdom comprised of the modern District of Kāmarūpa and probably also of some more adjoining areas. This is warranted by the following points : (i) Devūnikoñci and Saṁśrahikoñcikā, mentioned in the plates of Vallabha are places of the modern Kamrup District region, because of the ending-*koñci*. These names may be compared with Haṁśākoñci of the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva and Pañcola-koñci, Daluvākoñci and Dudhavakoñci of the Nīlācala Plates of Mādhava. Such a name is not associated with any place outside the jurisdiction of the modern District of Kamarup. In his 70 page long dissertation, 'Place-Names of Bengal' (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXXIII) Krishnapada Goswami has not mentioned any such place-name belonging to Bengal. There is, however, one small village called Sitalkuchi in the western part of modern Cooch Behar ; but this name also appears to have been given by some brahmins of Kamrup who come to Cooch Behar in large number in search of a career. (ii) The place-name Goṣaridhara (where *dhara* probably means a hillock) may be compared with Digdāṇḍidhara, Śiṅgiādhara, and Pūrvvadharma of the Kamauli grant. Krishnapada Goswami's paper is silent also about a place-name ending in-*dhara*, and we are inclined to recognise these names ending in -*dhara* as typically Kāmarūpa-names. (iii) The name Hāpyacā given to a *maṇḍala* in the plates of Vallabha, may be compared to the name Haposa given to a village (*grāma*) in the Parbatiyā plates of Vanamāla and to the name Hapyoma given to a *viṣaya* in the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla. It is very significant that both Haposa *grāma* and Hapyoma *viṣaya* belonged to the Uttarakūla. We are inclined to suppose that Hāpyacā *maṇḍala* also belonged to the Uttarakūla (i.e., the north bank of the Brahmaputra) because, the village Saṁśrahikoñcikā seems to be identical with modern Sāṅgsāri, at a distance of ten k.m. to the north of the Brahmaputra, opposite of Pandu. Haposa, Hapyoma and Hāpyacā might roughly mean the same place. There are evidences of the same name being given to village or a town or a larger geographical unit like *viṣaya* or *maṇḍala* in different points of time. Be that as it may, Hāpyacā seems to be a typical place-name of Kāmarūpa. (iv) Palaeographic affinities of these plates with those of Vaidyadeva and Mādhava, as shown earlier, tend to imply that these plates also were issued in ancient Kāmarūpa. The similarity of these three documents in respect of the importance given to Gaṇeśa as the adorable deity is also significant. (v) Mādhava, the donor of the Nīlācala plates,

describes himself as *Niṣṣaṅkasimha-Kāmarūpeśvara* (line, 4). This reminds us of Vallabha's father Udayakarna alias Niṣṣaṅkasimha. We are very much inclined to presume that Mādhava, who has not given any lineage, belonged to the line of Vallabha himself, and took the appellation Niṣṣaṅkasimha in imitation of an illustrious predecessor of his own line. This should lead us to presume further that Vallabha also belonged to the same locality as that of Mādhava and while the latter donated land in the Pāṇḍu area in the south bank, the former donated land on the immediately opposite bank of the Brahmaputra in the locality of modern Sāṅgsāri. (iv) The two references to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu, found in the plates of Vallabha (vv. 2 and 25) also tend to confirm Vallabha's association with the tradition of the more ancient Kāmarūpa kings.

- v. 13. *kīrttipurvapūrah purah*. Kielhorn's rendering "to the east of kīrtipur" is not happy. The first *purah* means 'of the city' and the second *purah* means 'at the vicinity of'. The portion 'kīrtipūrvapūrah' gives us the name of the town as kīrtipura. The word *pūrvā* means 'preceding'. cf. *nīcāirvāsyatyupajigamiṣor devapūrvan girin̄ te* (*Meghadūta* I. 44) giving the name of a mountain as Devagiri.
- v. 19. *bhūmyākarṣaka śāsani*. Kielhorn hesitatingly renders—'settling the extent (?) of the land'. But we feel that the clear demarcation of the boundary is given as a deterrent (*śāsani*) for the encroacher (*ākarṣaka*).
- v. 26. *surapurayātrāmitrayātrennasattre*. The construction is cumbrous. Our rendering is solely guided by that of Kielhorn. The reading also might be *surapura-yātrā-mitra-pātre*., a worthy (*pātra*) companion (*mitra*) in the journey (*yātrā*) to the heaven (*surapura*).

APPENDIX

1. NAGĀJARĪ-KHANIKARGĀON FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION

(Early part of the 5th century A.D.)

References—P. C. Choudhury, *JARS*, Vol. XX, 1972-73, pp. 3-5; D. C. Sircar, *JAIH*, Vol. VII, 1973-74, p. 245.

History and Description—Few years back, presumably in 1972, a fragment of stone containing an inscription on its surface has been noticed by Dr. M. K. Saikia, Principal, D. R. College, Golaghat, in the house of Late Luduram Saikia of village Khanikargāon of the Sarupathar area of the Golaghat Sub-Division of the Sibsagar District. Late Luduram Saikia reportedly collected the fragment from some ruins of the closely situated Nagājarī area. Nagājarī is, however, a bigger area to which the Khanikargāon is supposed to belong. The stone is much damaged, and at present the inscription contains only five lines. The upper portion of the topmost available line is lost; letters are lost also from the right-hand end of all the available lines. The lower portion of the second half of the last available line is also damaged. The third line containing 14 letters is supposed by Dr. P. C. Choudhury to be available in toto. But in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar the present epigraph is only the lower left part of a larger record. In our opinion there must have been at least one more inscribed line below the visible fifth line, and horizontally also to the right there must have been space for some ten to twelve more letters beyond each line. The inscription is in the Eastern variety of the Brāhmī script very similar to that of the Umācal Rock Inscription. On paleographic ground Choudhury assigns it to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. According to Sircar the record 'is written in characters of about the fifth century A.D.' We are inclined to place it not later than the early part of the fifth century A.D.¹ With the help of a photograph supplied by Dr. M. K. Saikia the text is read by us as follows :

¹ In a letter, dated 27 July, 1972, to Kamaleswar Saikia, Lecturer, D. R. College, the Chief Epigraphist of the Govt. of India wrote that 'the inscription is in Gupta character of about 500 A.D.'

TEXT

1. न न च रा.....²
2. माहत्तरो³ ब्रह्मदत्तः वाजिरचेहाभि⁴
3. पूर्व्वेण⁵ दिब्रमुक्खडः⁶ सीमा पश्चिमतो
4. न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम्⁷ कीर्त्यतं⁸...
5. उक्तञ्च⁹ यावत्कीर्त्तिर्मनुष्य¹⁰...

NOTES

Of all the inscriptions of ancient Assam only the present one has the distinction of maintaining a difference between *b* and *v* as in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. From the available portion of the text we do not have even a single complete sentence. Yet it is sure that the language is chaste Sanskrit. If *māhattara*, involving a *svārthika pratyaya*, is taken to be correct and *kīrttyartam* for *kīrttyartham* is taken to be only a scribal error then this inscription is conspicuously free from corruption or influence of a local Prakrit. The text seems to have been in the Śloka metre the available feet whereof may be discerned as follows :

माहत्तरो ब्रह्मदत्तः¹¹/वाजिरचेहाभि—U— /
 पूर्व्वेण दिब्रमुक्खडः/सीमा पश्चिमतो— /
 न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम्/कीर्त्यतं UU—U— /
 यावत्कीर्त्तिर्मनुष्यस्य /

² Choudhury reads this line, with the missing letters within bracket, as न नीचरासीन्दुत्युत्तिस्थन् वाप्य (न्य) Sircar leaves this line blank.

³ Sircar suggests that it should be read as महत्तरो. Choudhury does not notice the *ā-kāra*, which is possibly given to have symmetry with the other metrical feet. But माहत्तर is also correct with a स्वार्थिकप्रत्यय.

⁴ Sircar reads *obhi* [na] : Choudhury reads *obhi* [ssimā].....

⁵ Choudhury reads पूर्व्विसो. But a *n* similar to that we find here is found also in the word *varmmanā* of the Umācal Rock Inscription (line, 2).

⁶ Choudhury reads दिब्रमुक्खरः ; Sircar reads दिब्रमुक्खडः. The letter ब्र we find here may be favourably compared with the letter ध्रु in the word ध्रुवभूति in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, line 32.

⁷ Choudhury reads ०पादपश्चाय्य. For the final *m*, seen here, compare the word *kṛtam* in the Umācal Rock Inscription, line 2.

⁸ Choudhury reads कीर्त्यत्वं. What is intended seems to be कीर्त्यर्थः.

⁹ Choudhury reads उक्तत्र. Sircar reads *uktan*[ca]. Though damaged, there is a clear trace of the *ca* below.

¹⁰ Choudhury reads स्मनसा ; Sircar reads *kīrttir*=[*m*] *anuṣya* [*syā*].

¹¹ The metre is, however, faulty here,

The word *uktañca* seems to have been given outside the right vertical margin of the lines because of not belonging to any metrical foot. At least for the completion of the verse beginning after *uktañca* there must have been one more inscribed line. It appears that पूव्वण दिन्न मुक्खडः is either a second or fourth foot; सीमा पश्चिमतो० is either a first or third foot; न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम् is either a first or third foot, and hence, there must have been one more foot between सीमा पश्चिमतो० and न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम्.

Here a full English rendering is not warranted. The extant text, however, gives the first impression that it is concerned with the donation of a land to the 'most respectable' Brahmadatta, apparently for the gain of fame (*kīrttyartham*). The land is bounded in the east by what is called Dibrumukkhada¹² and in the west by a banyan tree.¹³ According to D. C. Sircar the word *mahattara* means 'probably a member of the village assembly'. But, as we feel, it could mean the village Headman also. P. C. Choudhury takes Brahmadatta to be the donee. In that case we would anticipate the word *bhaṭṭa* to precede the word *mahattara*.¹⁴ But if Brahmadatta is taken to be the donee then a person named Vāji also must be recognised as another donee because of the particle *ca* in the expression *vājīśca*. Hence, what appears to be more likely is that Mahattara Brahmadatta, i.e., the village Headman Brahmadatta and Vāji were officials or witnesses connected with the donation or demarcation of the plot of land concerned, and what seems to be most likely is that Brahmadatta and Vāji are mentioned only for indicating the northern and the southern boundaries, a more specific reference to which might have been there in the portion now lost to us.

In its style, execution, language and script, this inscription is very close to the Umācal and the Bargangā rock inscriptions. Yet on account of its maintaining a difference between *b* and *v* and because of betraying no sign of the influence of any local Prakrit, we are inclined to surmise that the present record is earlier even than the Umācal inscription. While the Umācal inscription stands as an index to the spread of Aryan culture upto the Gauhati area and the Bargangā inscription speaks of the spread of the Aryan culture upto the Dabakā area, the present inscription stands as an unquestionable testimony to the spread of the Aryan culture upto the Sarupathār area of upper Assam as early as in the early part of the 5th century A.D.

¹² Dibrumukkhada was either the name of a locality or the name of a person whose land is here said to be on the boundary of the donated land.

¹³ न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम् = ०पादपः च अयम्. It appears that the banyan tree was just by the side of the inscribed rock. The particle *ca* after the word न्यग्रोधपादपः indicates that there must have been something more to stand as the western boundary, which might have been mentioned in the foot (probably the second foot of a *śloka*) now lost in between the feet सीमा पश्चिमतो० and न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम्.

¹⁴ cf. कौशिको वाजसनेयी भट्टमहत्तरः प्रियङ्करधोषस्वामी in the Dubi Plates (line 112).

2. DEOPĀNĪ VIṢṆU IMAGE INSCRIPTION

References—K. N. Dikshit, *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, pp. 329-30; R. M. Nath, *JARS*, VIII, 4, pp. 130-34; P. C. Choudhury, *VII*, XII, pp. 1-3.

History and description—Deopānī is a celebrated name in the field of the archaeology of Assam. Here a 2'6" standing Viṣṇu image in stone has been noticed by T. Bloch as early as in 1905. About two decades later K. N. Dikshit got it shifted to the museum of the Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati. Now it is preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. This image at its back bears an inscription in four lines. Some letters are lost in the right-hand fringe of the lines as that portion of the stone image is broken. The text in the available portion has been deciphered for the first time by K. N. Dikshit and published in the *Ep. Ind.* XVIII. Subsequently it has been read again by P. C. Choudhury and published in the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XII. The latter has decidedly made some improvements. But there is yet some room for further improvements as will be seen from our observations below. On palaeographic ground Dikshit assigns the inscription to the 9th century A.D. while P. C. Choudhury is more inclined to place it in the 8th century A.D. The script is of the Eastern variety of the North Indian Brāhmī, very similar to the script of the Tezpur Stone Inscription of Harjara, though not so close to the Hāyuṁthal Plate of the same king.

TEXT

1. ९ हरं तृलोक्यं उरगेन्द्रसूत्रं वृषध्वजं सोमजग(त)प्रकासं । म¹ × × × ×
2. भगवतिस्तु गुर्जं ॥ सत्वास्तु-देवि भुवि मार्त्तिलोके स्थान ×
3. ३ शूद्रो द्विजवर्ननारिसेव्यस्तु देवि भगवतिस्तु गुर्जं ॥ पि
4. नाम मढव²दी । भगवाते × रायण शैली प्रतिमा भक्त्यान्ताः ॥

NOTES

Up to the word *gurija* in line 3, there are six feet of metrical composition. The first and the second feet are in Upendravajrā metre and

¹ This letter is only partially seen. It might also be से.

² This letter व, left out in the regular line is supplied immediately below the line in is appropriate place.

the remaining four feet seem to be in *Indravajrā*. But the third foot is incomplete and there is a metrical flaw because of the short vowel following *bh* in *bhagavati*. The second letter of the fifth foot is incomplete; but there is no flaw. The sixth foot has one letter in excess, and hence a metrical flaw. The metrical inaccuracies caused by wrong engraving or Prakritisation are not taken note of.

It appears to us that there were originally two full verses. But in time of engraving the third and the fourth feet of the earlier verse seem to have been left out; because, the first two feet containing a reference to the deity in the accusative should form part of a *maṅgala* verse meant for saluting the deity, while the remaining four feet seem to assert philosophically an identity of the deities Śiva, Devī and Nārāyaṇa. But, after the first two feet there is nothing to express the paying of homage, and hence, it is presumed that the later two feet of the first verse have been left out.

In the second verse, beginning towards the end of the first line of the inscription, the first four or five letters are lost. The first letter read as *mā* by Choudhury and as *ma* by Dikshit is seen only partially. It might also be *se*, giving us the whole of this foot as से (व्यस्तु देवी) भगवतिस्तु गुञ्ज in full conformity with the present sixth foot.

This inscription abounds in corrupt words and expressions, which cannot be explained away simply as Prakrit forms, though some degree of Prakritism also cannot be ruled out. Metrical flaws and the recurrence of the particle *tu* indicate an immaturity of the composer. Yet, it must be acknowledged that these four lines have some very important socio-cultural implications.

The word *तुलोक्यं* is intended to stand for *त्रिलोक्यं* which is a wrong substitute presumably for *त्रिलोकिनम्* in the sense of Śiva. This seems to be due to a confusion with such expressions as *त्रैलोक्यनाथ* and *त्रिलोकीनाथ* in the sense of Viṣṇu or Śiva. For the use of *r* for *ri* compare *पृथानुवर्तनम्* in the Bargāon Plates of Ratnapāla, line 43. The word *गुञ्ज* has been read by Dikshit as *शूर्ज* in the sense of *सूर्य*. But here the first letter cannot be read as *श*, because we have exactly the same letter in the word *गुरुः* of the first line of the Deopānī Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa Image inscription which is discussed below. Choudhury reads the original as *गूर्ज* and suggests the intended Sanskrit word to be *गुह्य*. He observes that “*ज* has been used in place of *ह* for the simple reason that in Assamese when *य* is added to *ह* it is pronounced as *ज्य* or *भ्य*. In following this usage or due to local influence *ज* has been used in place of *ह*.” This is quite convincing, though we should better say that *ज* has been used in place of *ह्य*. The word *गुह्य* is also rightly taken to mean Viṣṇu. In the light of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, the *Śabdakaṭpadruma* and the *Vācaspatyaṃ* take *guhya* to mean Viṣṇu also. The adventitious *repha* in *ज* is possibly due to a corrupt practice of putting a redundant *repha* over any reduplicated consonant seen later on also in

some manuscripts of the early Assamese writers like Mādhava Kandali and Hema Sarasvatī.³ The clause immediately following the second *gurjja* towards the close of line 3 has been read by Dikshit as “× × न (म) पढवदी (?)”. Choudhury reads it as “पि × × नाम पढवदी” and gives the emended and corrected readings as “पि (शानो) नाम पर्वति” with a note that पढवदी “does not carry any meaning. This should be corrected as पर्वति (पर्वा + इति)”. The translation of this clause, as given by him is “The engraver (of this inscription) is Parvā by name.” But this interpretation is not tenable. Because, the word पिशानो (sic) does not in any way mean an engraver. Moreover, what is read here as पढवदी is very similar to what is read by him as (कु) मढवरे (sic)⁴ in the original text of the inscription of the Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa image recovered from the same Deopānī site. In the latter case the original is emended as (कु) मारावधि. In our opinion, in both places the intended word is the same and while in the Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa image the reading is (कु) मढवदि, in the present inscription the reading is मढवदी, meaning the मठपति or the priest in charge of the temple to which the present image is consecrated. This is a clear case of Prakritism, involving a change of ङ to ढ and the rules ‘पो वः’ and ‘तो दः’.⁵ What we have read as भगवाते is surely a wrong engraving for भगवतो by way of putting the आ-कार ahead of the त instead of putting the same next to त. This word in the 6th case-ending makes it obligatory to emend नारायण as नारायणस्य as done by Dikshit. The last word, which we cannot help reading as भक्त्यान्ताः with both *visarga* and *anusvāra* is most probably intended to represent भक्तानां, as suggested by Choudhury also.

The text may tentatively be rendered into chaste Sanskrit as follows :

1. ९ हरं त्रिलोकिनम् उरगेन्द्रसूत्रं वृषध्वजं सोमजगत्प्रकाशं... (नौमि ॥) से (व्या तु देवी)
2. भगवती तु गुह्यः । सत्या तु देवी भुवि मर्त्यलोके । स्था (ण्व)-
3. क्लृप्त-शूद्र-द्विजवर्ण-नारीसेव्या तु देवी भगवती तु गुह्यः । पि...
4. नाम मठपतिः । भगवतो नारायणस्य शैली प्रतिमा भक्तानाम् ॥

³ It is a common experience to find the incorrect word साहाय्य for साहाय्य in the unpolished writings in Assamese even today.

⁴ Vide P. C. Choudhury, *Journal of Indian History*, XLVIII, Pt. I., p. 97.

⁵ cf. the change of त to द in the word लिखिदः in the Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa image inscription of the same place and time.

⁶ The आ of the intended स्थाण्वङ्का is lost due to Samāsa.

A tentative English translation of the above may be presented as follows :

“(After the auspicious āñji) (Homage is paid) to Hara, the lord of the three worlds, who puts on the king of serpents as the sacred thread, who has the Bull as his mount, and who illumines the world with the moon (of his crest). Adorable is the goddess (Devī), and the goddess (Bhagavatī) is indeed identical with Viṣṇu (Guhya). True indeed is the goddess (Devī) in this world, the abode of the mortals. The goddess (Devī) who is in association with Śiva (Sthānu)⁷ is worshipable for the Śūdras, the twice-born classes and women; and the goddess (Bhagavatī) is indeed identical with Viṣṇu (Guhya). The Priest in charge of the temple (to which this image belongs) is named Pi—(This is a) stone image of Lord Nārāyaṇa for the devotees.”

This inscription stands as a very good testimony to the spirit of religious toleration and the trend for syncretism, which is warranted also by the discovery of the two composite Harihara images in the Deopānī site, many a CP grants of ancient Assam and the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, which despite of being a Śākta upa-Purāṇa, gives no less importance also to Śiva and Viṣṇu. Another point of great significance is the catholicity of outlook evidenced by way of declaring Viṣṇu as worshipable for the twice-born classes and the Śūdras and the women alike. The clear mention of the *bhaktas* shows that the cult of Bhakti was already gaining some ground in the religious life of ancient Assam.

⁷ Literally it means 'to whose proximity स्थाणु belongs', स्थाणुरङ्गे अन्तिके

यस्याः सा.

3. ŚAṆKARA-NĀRĀYAṆA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(The 8th Century A.D.)

Reference—P. C. Choudhury, *Journal of Indian History*, XLVIII, Part 1, p. 97.

Description—In the Assam State Museum there are two composite Hari-Hara images, recovered from the Deopānī site. Both images contain few lines of inscription. For distinguishing the two similar images recovered from the same site and assigned to the same date, we call the larger one, measuring 67×34×18 CM, by the name Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, because of the occurrence of this name in the text of the inscription. The smaller one, measuring 35×20×5 CM, is called the Hari-Hara image, because of its being clearly named so in the inscription belonging to it. In the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa image inscription there are three lines of prose in the Eastern Variety of the North Indian Brāhmī script. The script is similar to that of the Deopānī Viṣṇu image inscription. The engraving here is in a much better state of preservation. The language is Sanskrit with some conspicuous instances of Prākṛitism and grammatical irregularities. The text is read by us as follows :

1. ९ नमः । महाराजाधिराजश्रीजीवरा राज्ये । गुरुः कु मठपदि संप-
2. ज्ञाविपनासिद्धतपस्वीक्रियाः सुतः । भादौ नाम संस्करनारायन-
3. कीर्तनः । — वलाहिदिनामकं सैलासै लिखिदः ॥ —

This text may be rendered into a somewhat chaste Sanskrit as follows :

1. ९ नमः । महाराजाधिराजश्रीजीवरा¹राज्ये । गुरुः कुल²-मठपतिः³ संप-

¹ The word जीवरा does not make any sense. Hence, it may be supposed that the name of the king is श्रीजीव and the syllable रा is given in excess through scribal error of repeating the रा of राज्य. But in analogy with हर्जर we may retain जीवरा also.

² The ल of कुल seems to have been left out by the engraver. गुरुःकु might also be a wrong engraving for the word कुलगुरुः.

³ For the argument in favour of this reading see our notes on the preceding inscription.

१. आविपन्नसिद्धतस्त्रिनः^४ छतः । आदौ नाम शङ्करनारायण-

३. कीर्त्तनम्^५ । ^६बलाहीति नामकेन शैलाटेन लिखितम् ॥

The meaning of this text may be given tentatively as follows :

(After the āñjī sign and the word *namaḥ*) In the kingdom (or, during the reign) of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jīvarā. The Preceptor and Priest in charge of the family temple⁷ is the son of the accomplished (*sampanna*) and fortunate (*avipanna*)⁸ celebrated (*siddha*) ascetic. In the beginning (there was) the chanting of the names of Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa. It has been engraved by an Idol-attendant (*śailāṭa*) named Balāhi.

It will be seen that in the smaller image of Hari-Hara, it is clearly mentioned that the idol has been given (*dattā*) to a certain donee. But here there is no clear mention of the fact of the idol being given to anybody. While in the Deopānī Viṣṇu image and the smaller Hari-Hara image the idols are clearly named after the deities concerned, here we cannot be sure that Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as the name of the idol. The word *ādau* gives the impression that some chanting of prayers to Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa was performed before the consecration of the idol in the temple concerned. Śaṅkaradeva, the neo-Vaisnava apostle of Assam, popularised the cult of *nāma-saṁkīrtana* as a mode of paying homage to the deity in the 16th century A.D., and he received the inspiration for this cult from the *Sahasra-nāma-khaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*. Now this inscription shows that most probably the cult became prevalent in Assam as early as in the 8th century A.D. The names of the two kings immediately succeeding Balavarman II of the Śālastambha dynasty could not be gathered from the copper plate grants. Since on palaeographic ground this inscription is placed in the 8th century A.D., P. C. Choudhury seems to be right in supposing Śrījīvarā as the immediate successor of Balavarman II.

⁴ The word तपस्त्रिक्रियः retained by P. C. Choudhury in the 'corrected Sanskrit' text is not Sanskrit.

⁵ What has been actually intended might be आदौ शङ्करनारायण-नामकीर्त्तनम्.

⁶ This word is preceded by an ornamental sign which is again repeated at the close of the line.

⁷ If we suppose the intended reading to be कुलगुरुः मठपतिः etc., then the rendering would be 'the family Preceptor and the Priest in charge of the temple', etc.

⁸ *vipanna*=unfortunate; hence, *avipanna*=fortunate.

4. HARIHARA STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(The 8th century A.D.)

Reference—P. C. Choudhury, *Journal of Indian History*, XLVIII, Part 1, p. 97.

Description—Of the two composite Hari-Hara images recovered from the Deopāni site and preserved in the Assam State Museum the smaller one, measuring $35 \times 20 \times 5$ CM is called the Hari-Hara image. It contains in its body three lines of writing in the Eastern variety of the Brāhmī script assigned by P. C. Choudhury to the 8th century A.D. The ruling monarch named in the inscription may be supposed to be the immediate successor of Śrī Jīvarā of the previous inscription, who on his own part is supposed to be the immediate successor of king Balavarman II of the Śālastambha dynasty. The text is in three lines of Sanskrit prose with inaccuracies, which might be due to the influence of a hypothetical local Prākṛit. The crude text runs as follows :

1. ९ नमः स्वस्ति महाराद्धिराज¹ श्रीदि-
2. ग्लेखवर्मराज्ये काख्यपुत्रे शत (?) हरिणा (।) मेनः ।
3. हरिहरः । प्रतिमा दत्तेती

In chaste Sanskrit this text should be—

1. ९ नमः स्वस्ति महाराजाधिराजश्रीदि-
2. ग्लेखवर्मराज्ये काख्यपुत्राय शतहरिनाम्ना (= शतहरिनामभिः)
3. हरिहरप्रतिमा दत्तेति (= दत्ता इति)

Translation—(After the *āṅṇī* and the benedictory words *namah* and *svasti*). In the kingdom of (or during the reign of) Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Diglekhavarman, (this) image of Hari-Hara has been given to the son of Kākhyā with (the chanting of) hundred names of (lord) Hari.

Like the previous inscription, this one is also very important because of recording the tradition of *nāmakīrtana*, which came to assume a very significant rôle in the religious life of Assam in the medieval period.

¹ There seems to be something more, like a ए, after न.

5. ULUBĀRĪ COPPER PLATES OF BALAVARMAN III

(The last quarter of the ninth century)

Place and History—In the early part of the year 1977 three boys accidentally discovered these plates in the paddy field of the No. 1 Ulubārī village of the Nāharbārī Maujā of the Darrang District. From them these plates have been procured by Shri Chidananda Baruah, Settlement Officer, Darrang, Tezpur, who is also the President of the Darrang Anusandhan Samiti. The plates have been deciphered for the first time by Shri Baruah and Shiri Kanak Chandra Sarmah, Senior Asst. Settlement Officer, Darrang, who is also the General Secretary of the Darrang Anusandhan Samiti. A description of the plates along with an English rendering of the text has been got published by them in *The Assam Tribune* of the 9th May, 1977. In the *Dainik Asam* also of the same date they got published an account of the plates along with an Assamese translation of the contents. The full text of the plates as read by Baruah and Sarmah along with an Assamese rendering by them has been published in the *Asam Bānī* of June 17, 1977. Now the plates are being preserved in the Tezpur Treasury as a property of the Darrang Anusandhan Samiti.

Description—These plates contain a charter issued by king Balavarman III in the thirteenth regnal year for donating a plot of land to a brahmin named Bhavadeva, son of Budhadeva and grandson of Viṣṇudeva. There are three copper plates of equal size, bound together by a ring having a radius of 4.25 cm. The ring is again attached to a laddle-shaped royal seal containing the frontal appearance of a sitting elephant in relief and a legend absolutely similar to that of the seals attached to the other two grants of king Balavarman III. The seal is made of an alloy of copper and bell-metal. The seal measures 9 cm. × 11½ cm. and each of the plates measure 16 cm. × 26 cm. and the total weight of the whole document is 4200 grams. There are 14 lines of writing in each of the pages Ib, IIB and IIIa while the page IIA contains 13 lines. The whole inscription is in a very good state of preservation, though there are over-writings and effects of rubbings in some words and syllables here and there.

The Uttarbarbil grant of Balavarman III has been issued in the 5th regnal year, the Nowgong grant has been issued by the same king in the 8th regnal year while the present grant has been issued in the 13th regnal year. The text upto *śri-balavarmadevaḥ kuśālī*

(in line 37, i.e., line 10 of plate IIb) is identical with the texts presented from the beginning upto the word *kuśālī* (in line 36 of the Uttarabarbīl grant and line 33 of the Nowgong grant) in the other two grants of the same king. In the remaining portion also the text describing the privileges attached to the donated land (lines 38 to 43, i.e., from *yathāyatham samupasthita* - - to *vinivāritasarvapiḍā-śāsanī-kṛtya*) is also similar to the corresponding texts of other two grants. Only the portions which describe (i) the location and the magnitude of the land, (ii) the donee, (iii) the occasion for making the gifts and (iv) the boundaries of the donated land are not common. The text corresponding to only these portions is presented here.

Here also the script and the orthographical peculiarities are the same as in the other two grants of the same king. The present plates also have their own omissions and commissions.

Shri Chidananda Baruah and Shri Kanak Chandra Sarmah have very kindly supplied us the photographs and a manuscript copy of the text of the plates as read by them. In fact, their reading is not as removed from the original as it appears to be from the misprintings in the *Asam Bānī*. In our notes their reading is referred to with the abbreviation BS.

Metres—vv. 26, 27, 29, Vasantatilakā; vv. 28, 30, Anuṣṭup.

TEXT

Second Plate : Reverse

37. × × × उत्तरकुले¹ मञ्जैविषयान्तःपातिदिवकृ²रतोप-
38. कृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ । × × ×

Third Plate : Obverse

43. × × × यो जातवेदसमपि
44. द्विजवर्चसोच्चैर्देवज्ञहास³ महसा द्विजविष्णुदेवः । आसीदसाविहपराशरवड्शजन्मा
45. काण्वो यजुर्निगदताञ्जगति प्रसिद्धः ॥२६॥ सत्यं कलाभिरमलो न तु नाम्नि
रूढः । वन्द्यो गु-
46. णैः श्रमणजैर्बुधदेव अस्मात् ॥ निद्धूतकलमशमशीमशणो⁴ बभूव दुग्धाम्बुधेरिव श-

¹ Bs. कुले.

³ Bs. देवज्ञहास.

² Bs. दिक्कु.

⁴ Read कलमशमसीमशणो. Bs. यशोणो.

47. श्री⁵ नयनाभिरामः ॥२७॥ देवाचार्यस्य तारिव⁶ शान्तनोरिव जाह्नवी
 48. तस्य साध्वभवत्पत्नी । ऊषा⁷ नाम यसस्विनी⁸ ॥२८॥ तस्माद्बभूव⁹ सकृती
 49. भवदेवनामा । काम(?)स्य सर्व्वजगतामभि¹⁰वृद्धिहेतुः । इत्थम्विचि-
 50. न्त्य यससा¹¹शशभृत्कला¹² या । जाने जगाम गु¹³णिनस्सह सैत्रभावं¹⁴ ॥२९॥
 51. उदक्स्सङ्क्रमणे¹⁵ पुण्ये वर्षे त्रयोदशे मया । लक्षाहोमे¹⁶ द्विजायास्मै दत्ता¹⁷
 क्षेममभि¹⁸-
 52. प्सता¹⁹ ॥३०॥ सीमा पूर्व्वेण दिमदौजोलपूर्व्वपाटः ॥ पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन सैव जोलः ।
 वेतसवृ-
 53. क्षौ । दक्षिणेन पाटलिबृक्षः । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन नरपतिकारितधरपूर्व्वपाटः ।
 54. पश्चिमेन सप्तपर्णवृक्षः²⁰ । जोलश्च । पश्चिमोत्तरेण जरिवृक्षः । उत्तरेण
 दिमदौ (?) -
 55. जोलः । मन्दारवृक्षौ । उत्तरपूर्व्वेण वर्म्मवृक्ष इति ॥

TRANSLATION

In a plot of land, capable of yielding two thousand units of paddy, sliced off from (the land known as) Dikkūra, belonging to the Mañjai viṣaya in the Uttarakūla (i.e., in the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra.) (lines 37-38)

XXX There was the brahmin Viṣnudeva; he was born in the family of (i.e., in the *gotra* of) Parāśara, and was a follower of the Kāṇvaśākhā (of the *Yajurveda*) and also was famous amongst the reciters of the *Yajurveda* in the whole world. With his lustre (*mahasā*) and the divine splendour resulting from the knowledge of the Vedic lore (*divijavarccasā*) he could laugh loudly at (i.e., could surpass) even the Fire god (i.e., Jātavedas or Agni). (v. 26).

⁵ Bs. श्री. It looks somewhat like श्री. ⁶ Read तारेव.

⁷ Bs. उषा. ⁸ Read यशस्विनी.

⁹ Bs. भगाद्वभूव. There is some over-writing in this word.

¹⁰ Bs. हि for मि. ¹¹ Read यशसा.

¹² Bs. शशभृत्कलावान्.

¹³ The letter गु is given below the level of the regular line.

¹⁴ Read मैत्रभावम्. Bs. जान जगामगिरुणस्यहसैत्रभावं.

¹⁵ Bs. उदत्सङ्क्रमणे.

¹⁶ Bs. लक्षोहोमे. Read लक्षहोमे.

¹⁷ Bs. दत्तो.

¹⁸ Read क्षेममभी-

¹⁹ Bs. प्सत्य.

²⁰ Bs. सप्तपिशु.

Like the beautiful moon originating from the Ocean of Milk, from him (i.e., from Viṣṇudeva) was born Budhadeva, who had washed off the injuries caused by the dirt of sin. He was really spotless in respect of (the knowledge of) the arts and he assumed the name (Budhadeva) not in a figurative sense based on convention (but it was literally applicable to him in so far as he was really a *budha* or learned man), and he was adorable due to the virtues acquired through efforts. (v. 27).

Like Tārā the wife of (Bṛhaspati) the preceptor of the gods and like Jāhnavī, the wife of Śāntanu, he had a pious and celebrated wife named Ūsā. (v. 28).

From him (i.e., from Budhadeva) was born a greatly learned (*sukṛti*) son named Bhavadeva. "He is the cause of the rising of the desire of the whole world."—with this consideration, one who is like the digit of the moon in fame, accepted the companionship (as a wife) of this virtuous person, as we know. (v. 29).

I have given to this brahmin (the aforesaid land) with the desire to have welfare, on the occasion of the performance of a hundred thousand *homas* in the thirteenth year (of my reign) at the holy juncture of the sun's passing into the north of the equator. (v. 30).

Boundaries : To the east the eastern bank of the Dimdau river ; to the south-east the same river and two cane trees ; to the south a Paṭali tree ; to the south-west the eastern side of a rampart constructed by the king ; to the west a Saptaparnā tree and also the river ; to the north-west a Jari tree ; to the north the Dimdau river and two Madār trees ; to the north-east a Varuṇa tree, and there ends the account.

NOTES

dvijavarccasā—This word seems to have been arbitrarily coined as a synonym of the word *brahmavarccasā*, where the word *brahma* is not in the sense of a brahmin (*dvija*) but in the sense of the Vedic lore. Hence, the present expression is a corrupt one and it involves the poetic blemish known as *Neyārthatā* (vide *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII).

na tu nāmni rūḍhaḥ—One of the two broad varieties of Lakṣaṇā or Secondary Signification is called *Rūḍhimūlā* or based on convention while the other variety is known as *Prayojanamūlā* or based on a purpose. When a certain name does not literally signify the object named, it may be said to be *rūḍha*, i.e., involving the earlier variety of Lakṣaṇā. But the name of Budhadeva is not *rūḍha*, because he is literally a learned man. (*budha*=learned)

narapatikārīta-dhara-pūrvapātaḥ—The word *dhara* means a hillock as in *Digdāṇḍidhara* and *Śiṅgiādhara* (lines 54 f in the Kamauli grant of

Vaidyadeva) and Goṣarīdhara (line 46 in the Tezpur Plates of Vallabha). But here the *dhara* is said to have been constructed at the instance of the king (*narapatikārīta*, cf. *tathāgatakārīta* in line 51 of the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla). Hence, here the word *dhara* seems to mean a rampart, and the expression *narapatikārīṭadhara* should mean a *rājgarh* in Assamese. What is now known as Cāmdharā Garh (Vide *Prācya-Śāsanāvalī*, p. 5) was presumably known originally only as Cāmdharā, with *dharā* meaning a rampart.

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Z

Zimmer, 234

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

[Minor misprints and inaccuracies are not indicated here. Major inaccuracies are indicated with star-marks.]

p. 2, Line 23 : The Umācal Rock Insc. need not be taken as the earliest in view of the Nagājarī-Khanikargāon Stone Insc. (Appendix I).

Line 27 : For a reference to the worship of Balabhadra, see *Kālikā Purāṇa*, (chow. edn) 80. 123—28.

p. 3, Line 20 : Read *Harṣacarita* for *Harṣaarita*.

p. 6, Line 5 : Read 'As' for 'as'

p. 14, Line 26 : Read विज्ञानवत्यां.

p. 15, Line 12 : Read पुत्त्री.

p. 16, Line 6 : Read पुण्ये.

„ 10 : Read शैलेन्द्रजा.

„ 19 : Read गिरिन्द्रजा.

„ 30 : Read न्यायार्थ.

p. 17, Line 1 : Read चोतो.

„ 12 : Read ५६ for ५१.

„ 17 : Read वशिनी.

„ 26 : Read वर्मपद्धति.

p. 18, Line 14 : Read स्तोकेरेव वलाच्युताविव.

p. 23, Line 15 : Read 'Solitary'

p. 29, Line 19 : Read 'suragururivāparaḥ'.

p. 33, Line 29 : Read 'Suvratā'

p. 36, Line 34 : *Delete the whole sentence "Yuan Chwang also.....Śilāditya".

„ 35 : Read 'p. 348f' for 'p. 343'

p. 43, Line 13 : Read ब्रह्मणामानि.

p. 45, Line 5 : Read (अ) ध्यर्द्धाङ्शः (:)

p. 47, Line 20 : Read अङ्शः³⁴ for अङ्शः³⁵

p. 49, Line 29 : Read तेभ्योक्षराणि.

p. 51, Line 12 : Read 'innumerable' for 'innumberable'.

- p. 53, Line 11—12 : *Read “force of the Kali age, and who was the very home of justice, abode of qualities, an endless wealth of the devotees, protection of the fear-stricken, and a repository of wealth and fortune ;” for “protection of the wealth and fortune of the fear-stricken”.

Line 32 : Read “drying up”

- p. 57, Line 25 : Read सुभाषितभाजि.

- p. 60, Line 19 : Read “Kuśiārā”

- p. 67, Line 14 : The noble deeds like digging of ponds, etc. are recognised as *dharma* in the Hindu tradition. cf.

वर्णाश्रमान्वयी धर्म इष्टं पूर्वमथेतरत् ।

प्रपातटाकादिरूपं तच्च सर्वत्र दृश्यते ।

स्मार्तं पूर्वं श्रौतमिष्टमिति केचिदिहोचिरे ॥

(*Sūyāṇabhāṣya* on *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* 34.3)

- p. 72, Line 24 : Read “inclined”.

- p. 78, Line 7 : Read “Kauṭilya”.

- p. 83, Lines 8, 9, 22 : *Read “H. P. Shastri” for “Krishna Shastri”.

- p. 84, Line 1 : *Read “H. P. Shastri” for “Krishna Shastri”.

- p. 85, Line 28 : Read “king”.

- p. 86, Lines 4, 10, 20 : *Read “MM H.P. Shastri” for “Rao Saheb Krishna Shastri”.

Line 5 : *Read “Mahāmahopādhyāya” for “Rao Saheb”.

- p. 88, Line 10 : Read हृड्पेश्वर.

- p. 97, Line 21 : Read भीमोर्विवर्गे.

- p. 100, Line 1 : Read क्षारिणीभि.

- p. 101, Line 17 : Read “Ādivarāha”.

- p. 131, Line 18 : Read “विधिवत्”.

- p. 132, Line 17 : Read “ताभ्यान्जनितो”.

- p. 154, Line 29 : Read “original”.

- p. 157, Line 15 : Read शकक्रीडाश (कु)नि

- p. 161, Line 4 : Read “rescued”.

- p. 166, Line 16 : *Read “three grants” for “two grants”.

- p. 168, Line 26 : Read “implication” for “various implications”.

Line 27 : Add “कमलाकरोद्भासनलालसरच्च may also have a remote suggestion that the king was ever desirous of discovering copper mines in his kingdom ; for, *Kamala* also means copper”.

- p. 181, Line 14 : Read समुद्रमुद्रां.
- p. 185, Line 23 : Read "rescued".
- p. 186, Line 6 : Read "exclusively".
- p. 187, Line 33 : Read "and commands".
- p. 195, Line 28 : Read शम्भोधृतकलाजितस्य.
- p. 204, Line 21 : Read "archer".
- p. 205, Line 20 : Read "righteousness".
- p. 210, Line 12 : Read छां for छा
- p. 211, Line 24 : Read स्वर्पीयसापि.
- p. 212, Line 3 : Read यद्वक्तुचन्द्रं
- p. 214, Line 34 : Read prowess
- p. 223, Line 17 : *Read "Corāṭbarī for "Saratbārī".
- p. 255, Line 21 : Read "distinctly".
- p. 258, Line 11 : Read पुष्ट for पुष्ट.
- p. 274, Line 10 : Read ए-कार.
- p. 277, Line 2 : Read गौडेशस्य.
- Line 23 : Read "Arthur Venis".
- p. 278, Line 14 : Read प्रायस्तत्तदसीम.
- p. 280, Last line : Read भवतेति for भवेतेति.
- p. 281, Lines 24 and 29 : Read "Arthur Venis".
- p. 296, Last line : Read भूमिस्तस्य.
- p. 304, Line 19 : *Read सीमा पश्चिमतो — — /
- Line 20 : *Read न्यग्रोधपादपश्चायम् /
- p. 305, Line 4 : *Read पूर्व्वेण दिव्यमुखः
- p. 309, Line 15 : Read "syncretism".



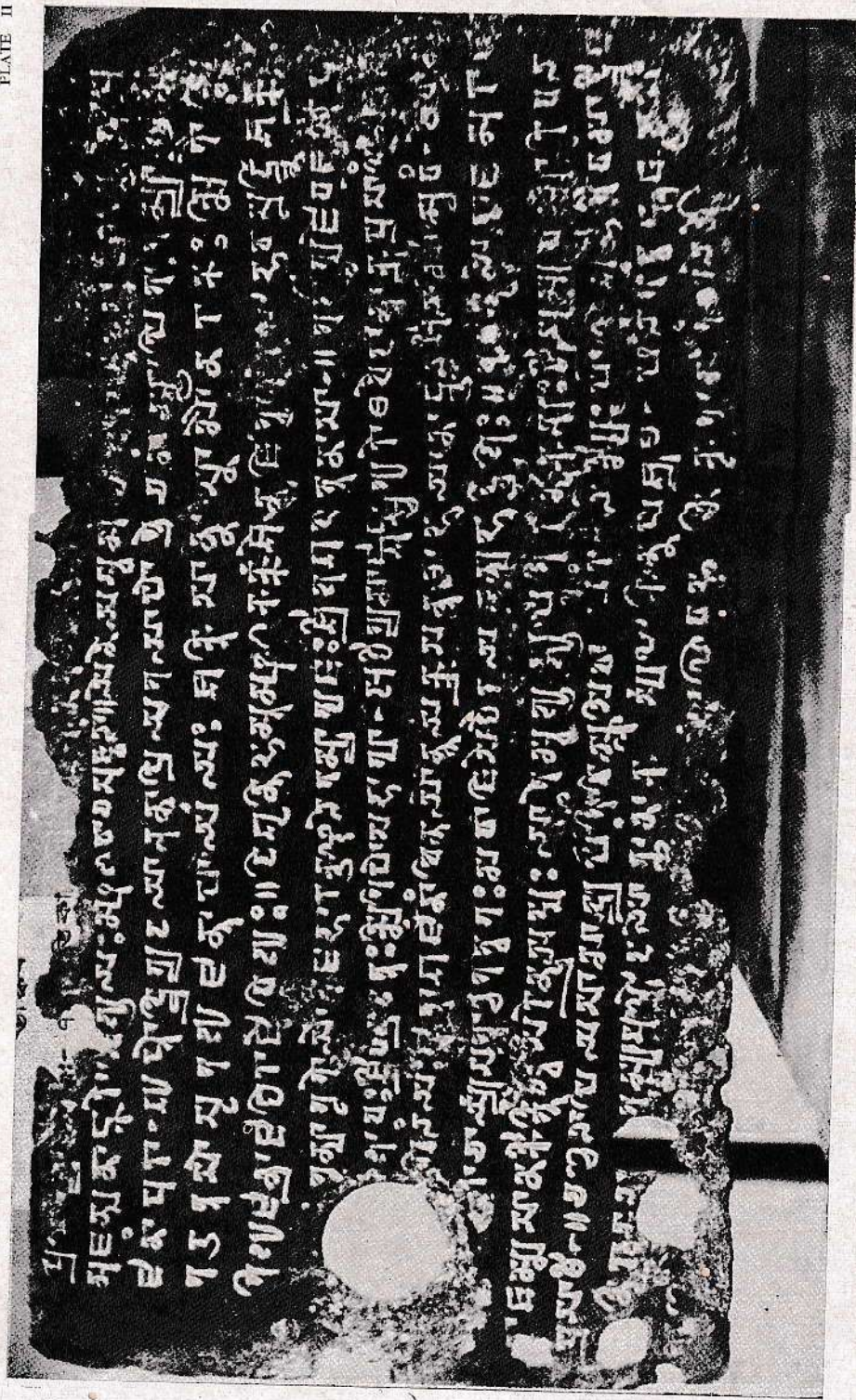
(a) Nagājari-Khanikargāon Fragmentary Stone Inscription

Courtesy : Dr. M. K. Saikia

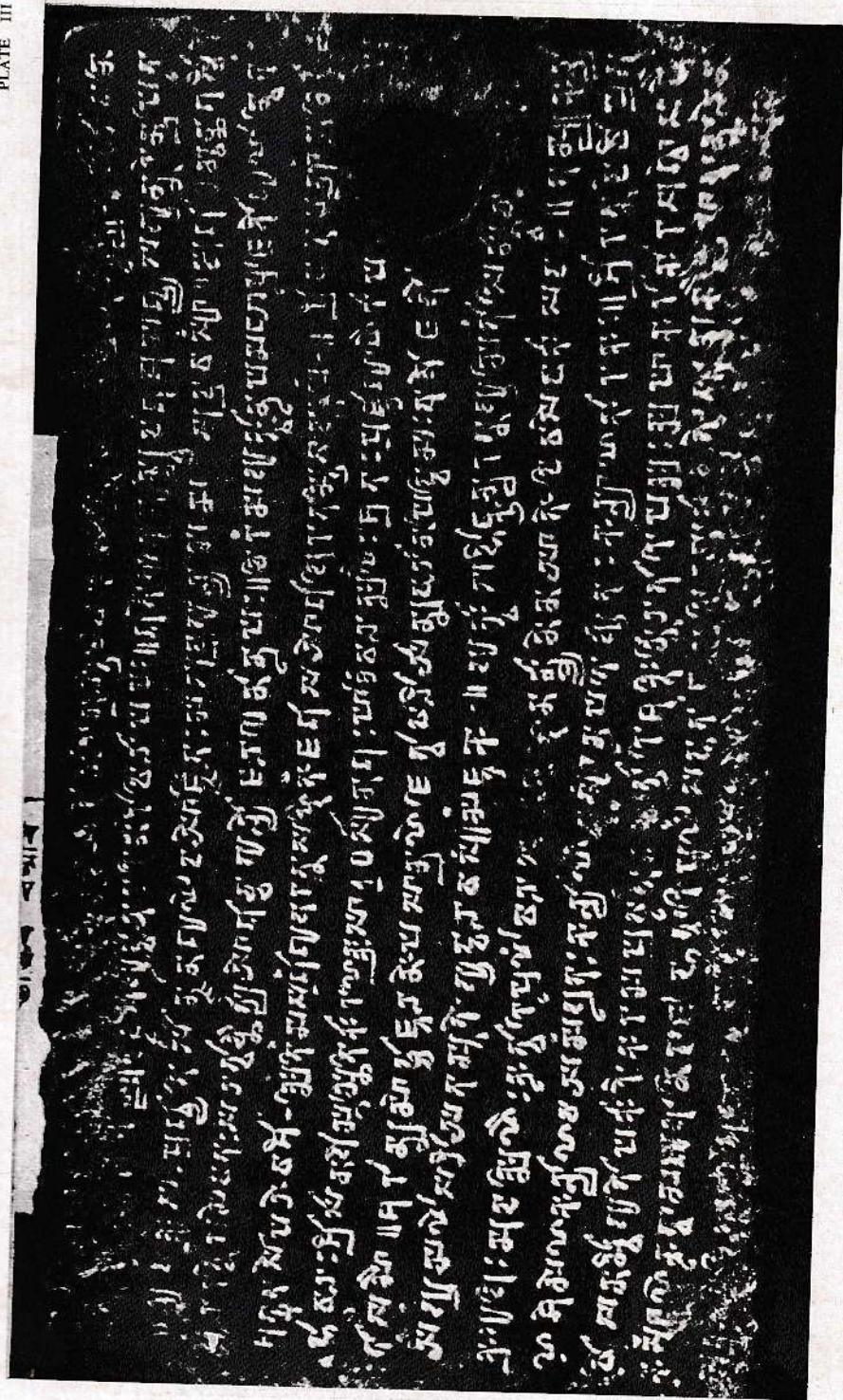


(b) Uṃācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarman

Courtesy : Shri Bisweswar Hazarika

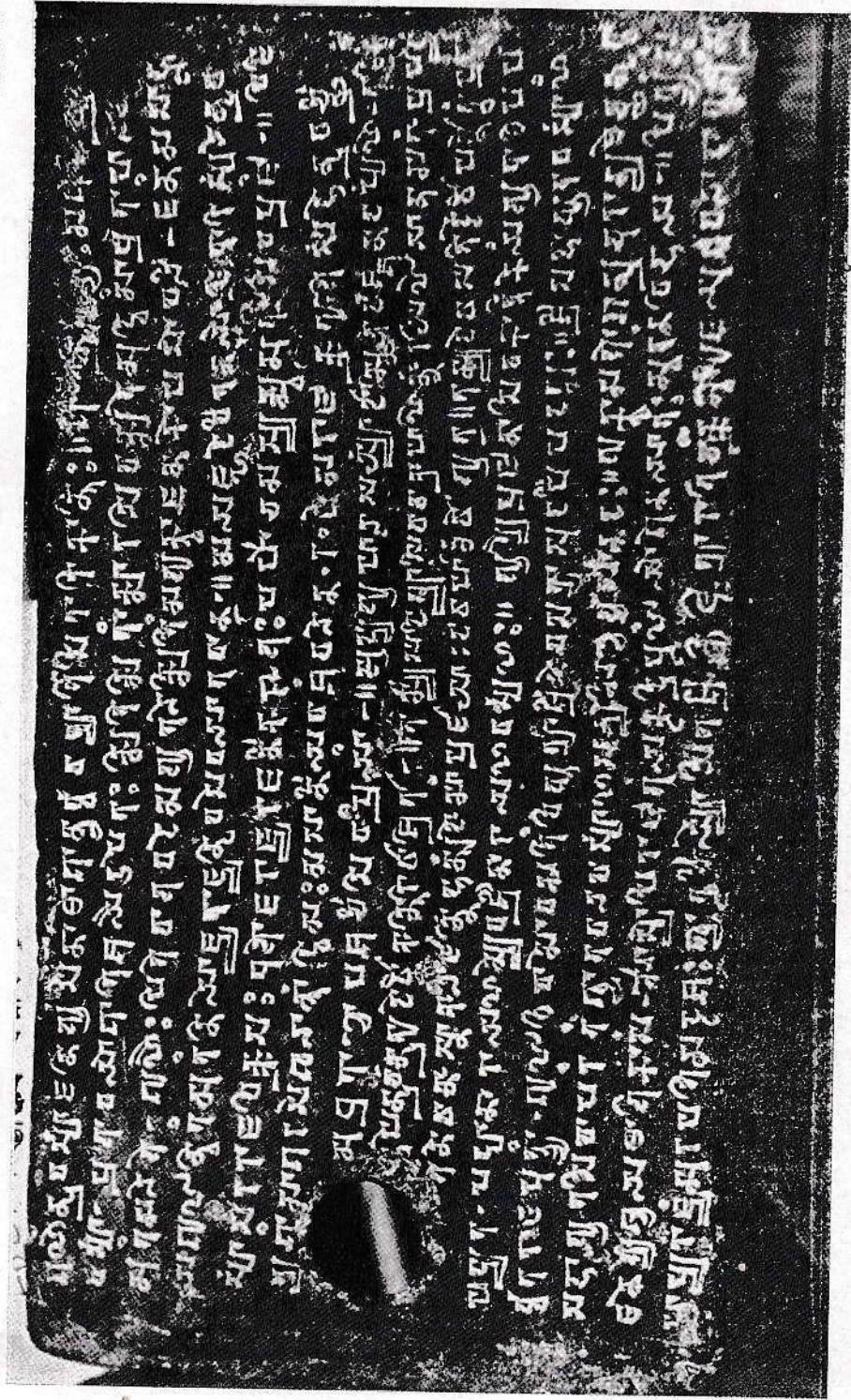


Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarman, IB

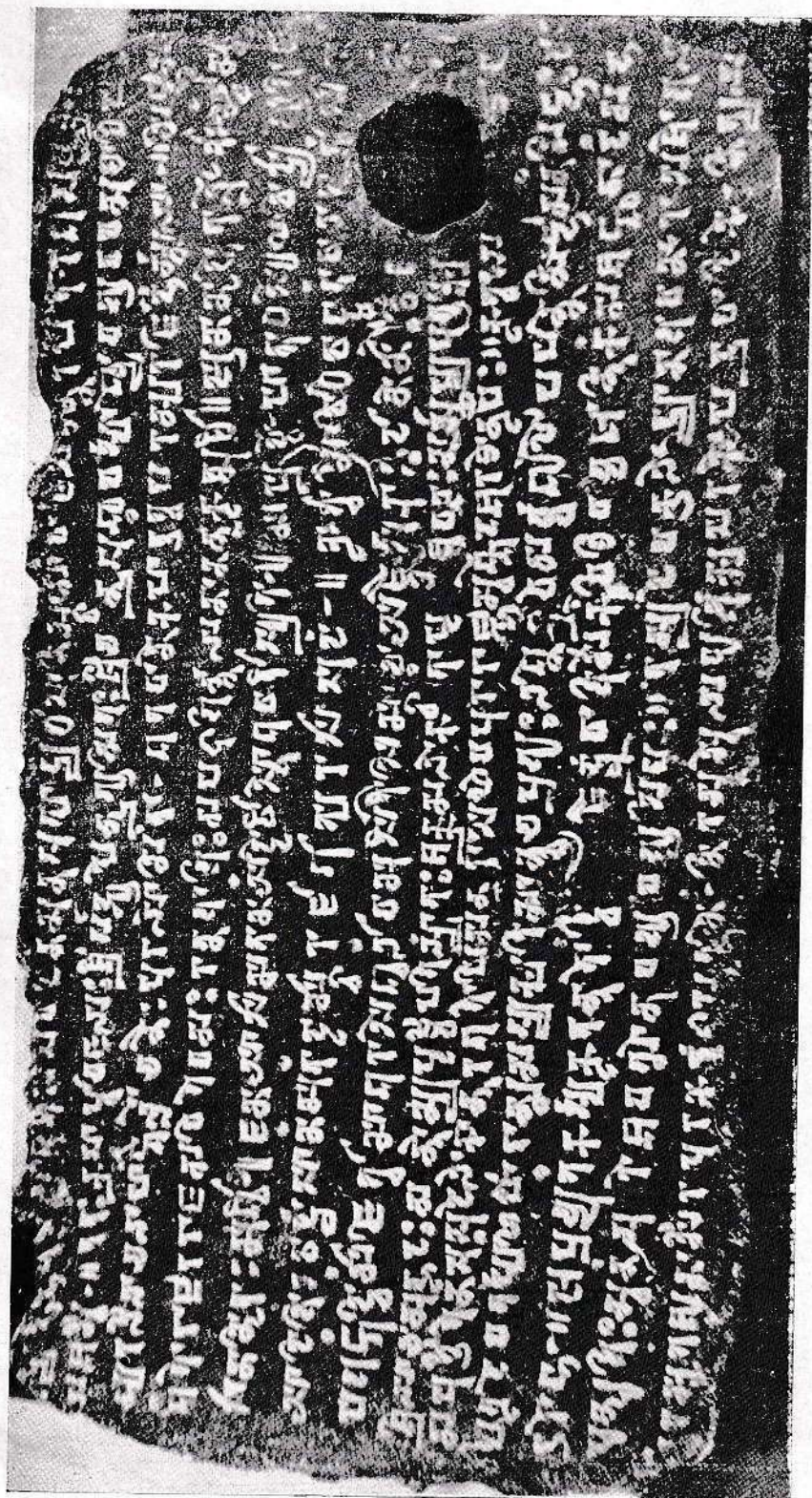


Dubi Plates of Bhaskaravarman, II A

Courtesy : Assam State Museum



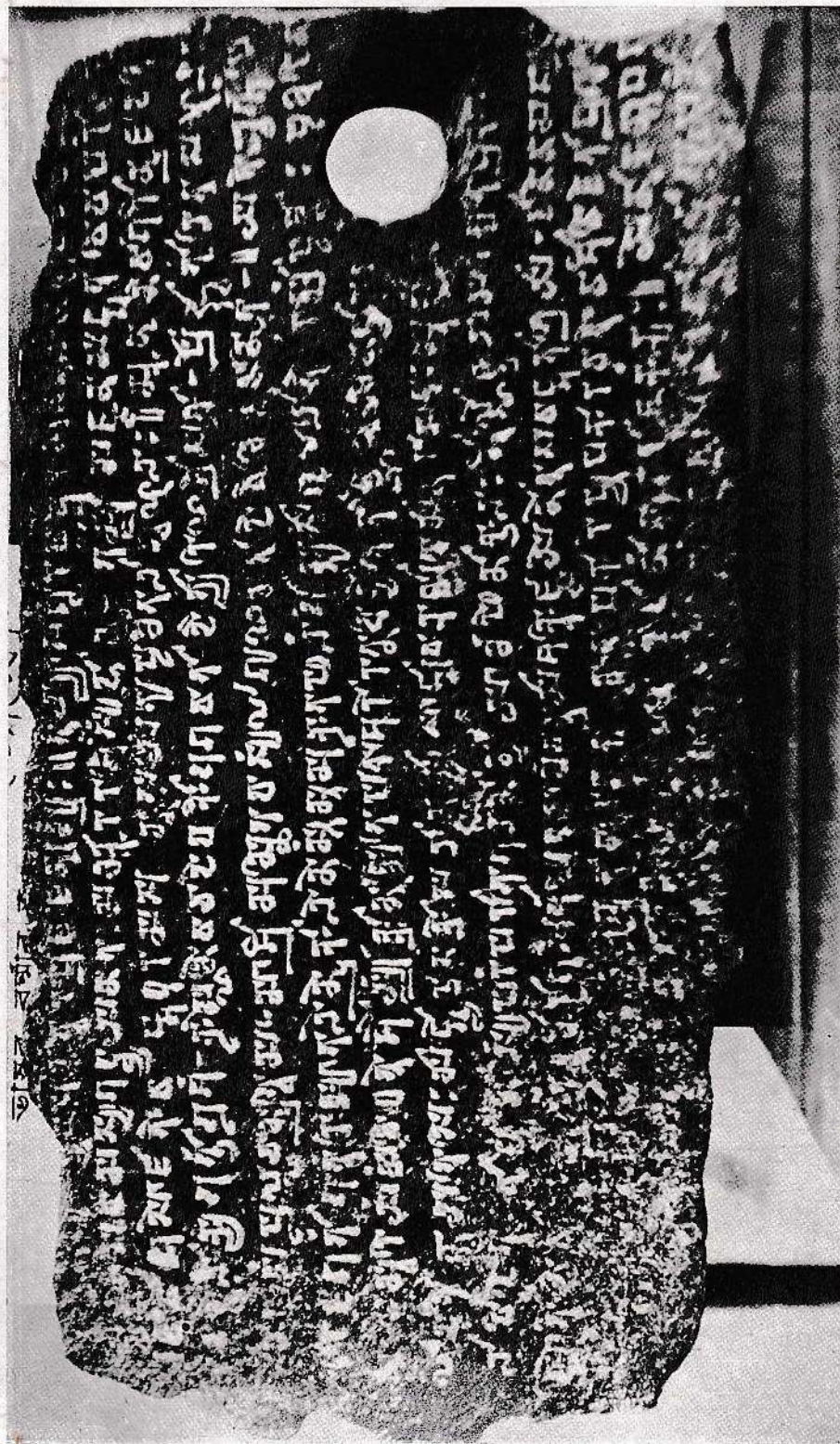
Dubi Plates of Bhaskaravarman, II B



Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarman, III A

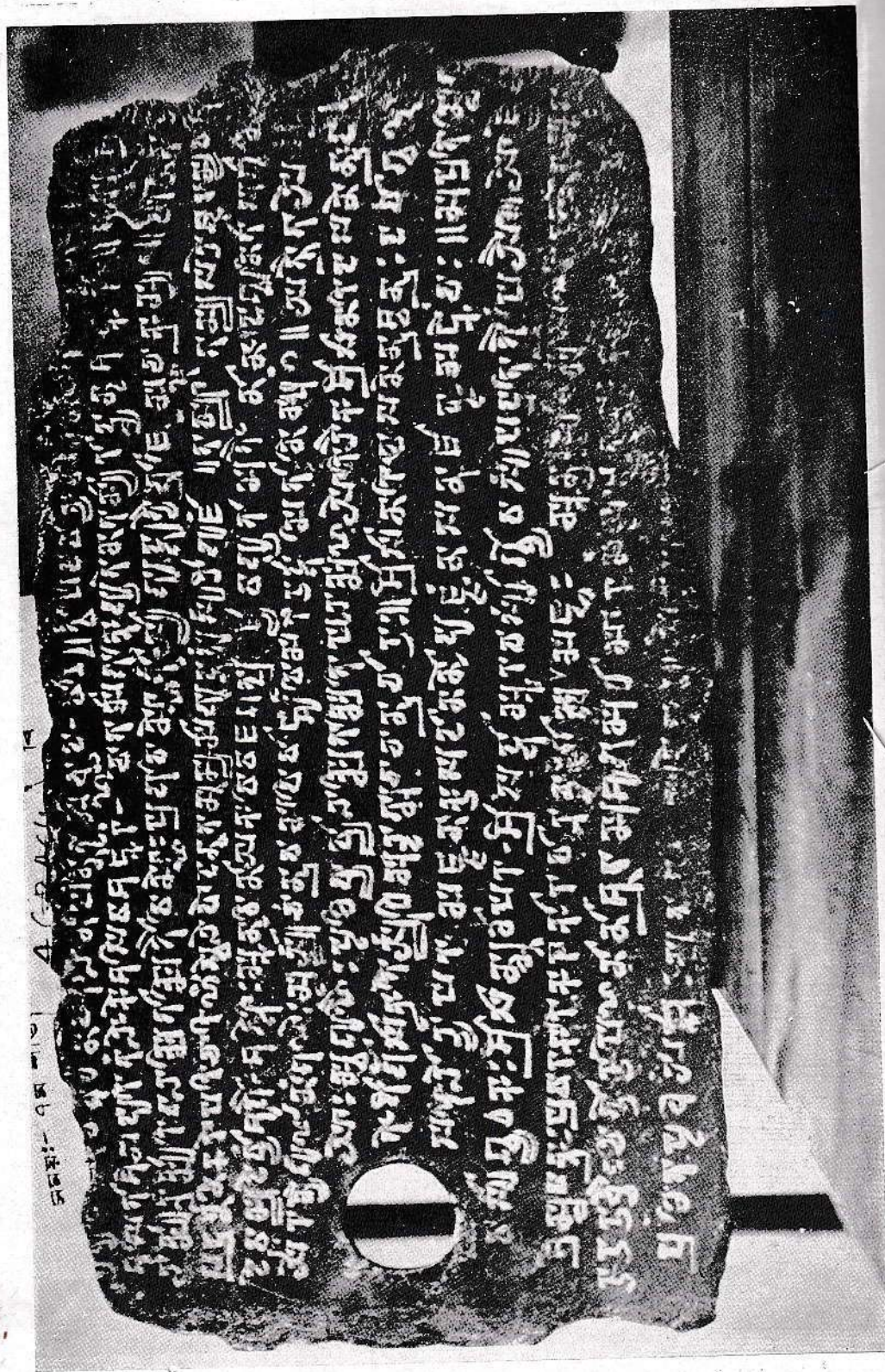


Dubi Plates of Bhaskaravarman, III B

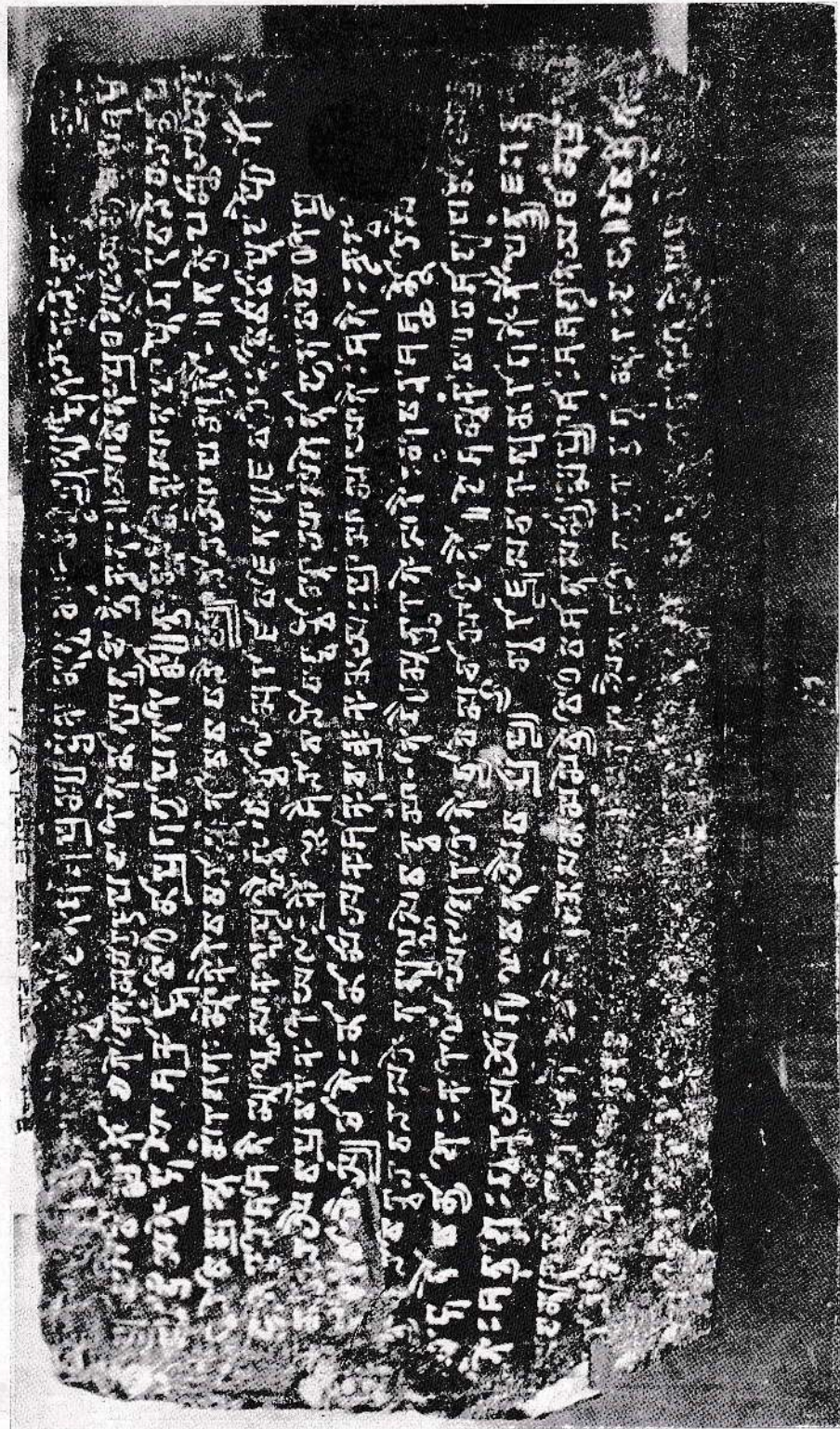


Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarman, IV A

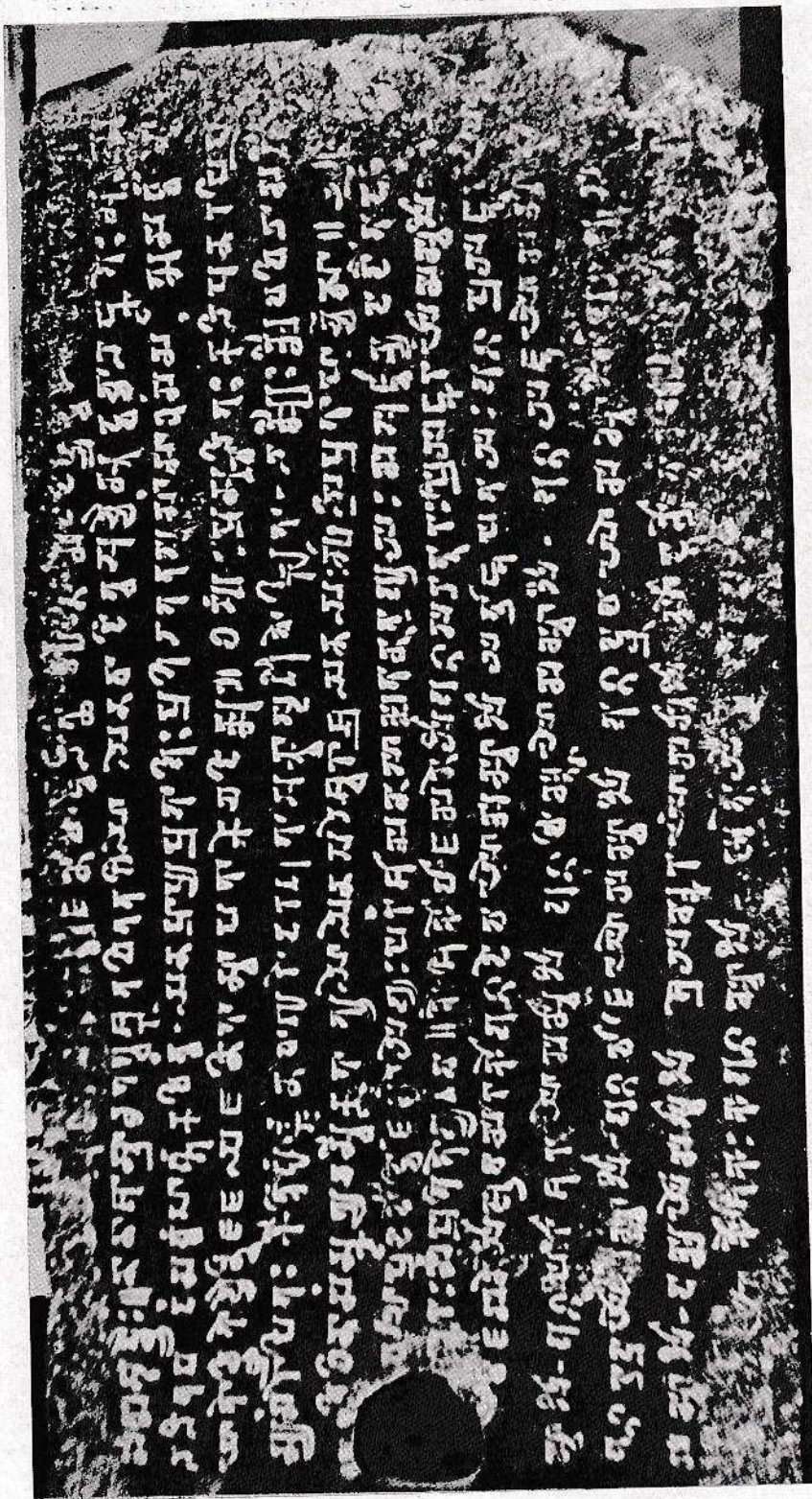
Courtesy : Assam State Museum



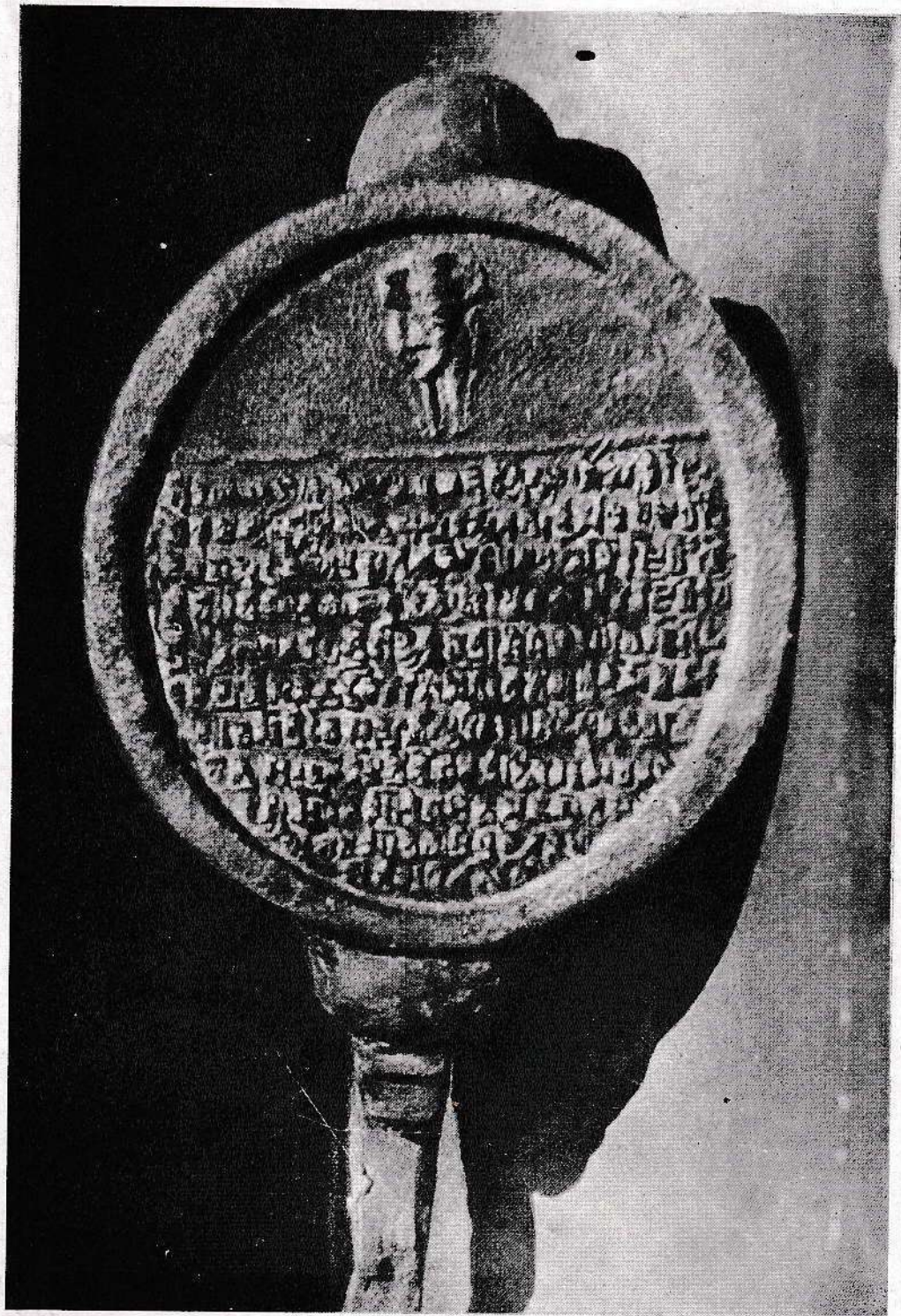
Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarman, IV B



Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarman, V A



Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarman, VB



Seal Attached to Dubi Plates

Courtesy : Assam State Museum

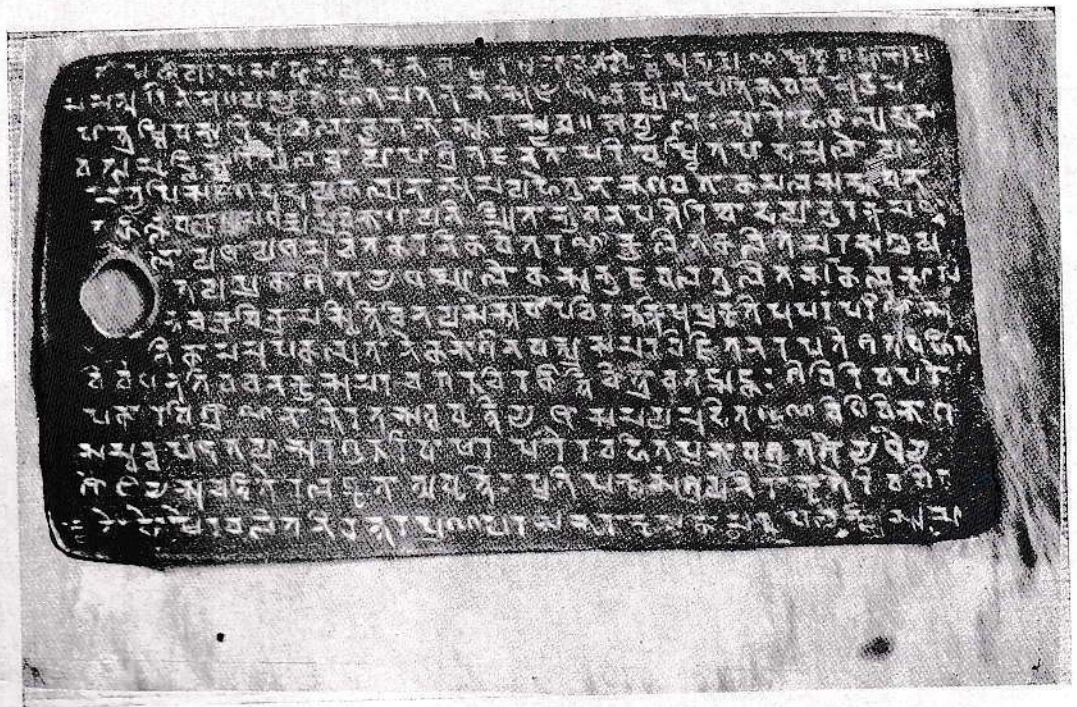


Nālandā Clay Seal of Bhāskaravarman

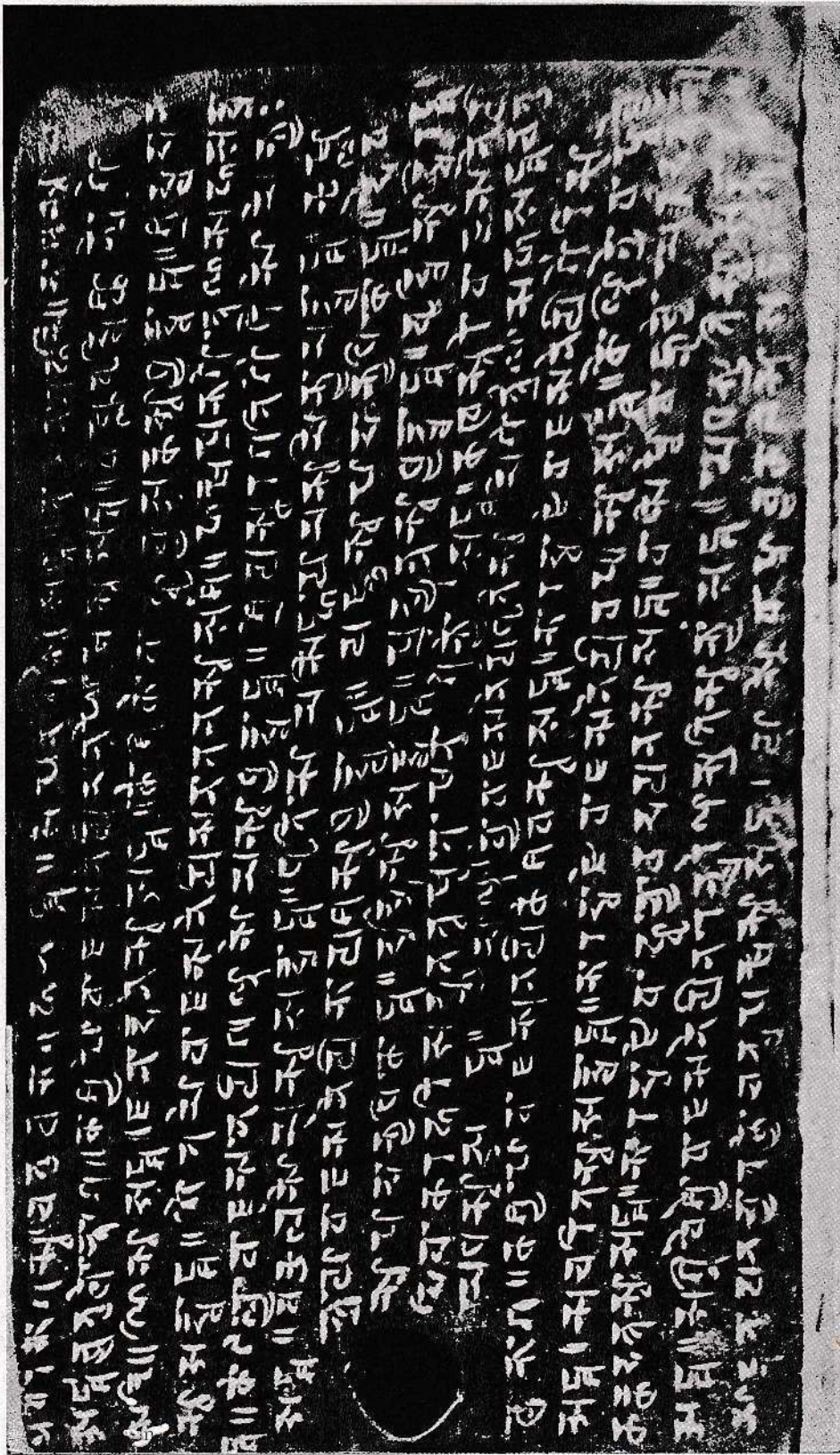
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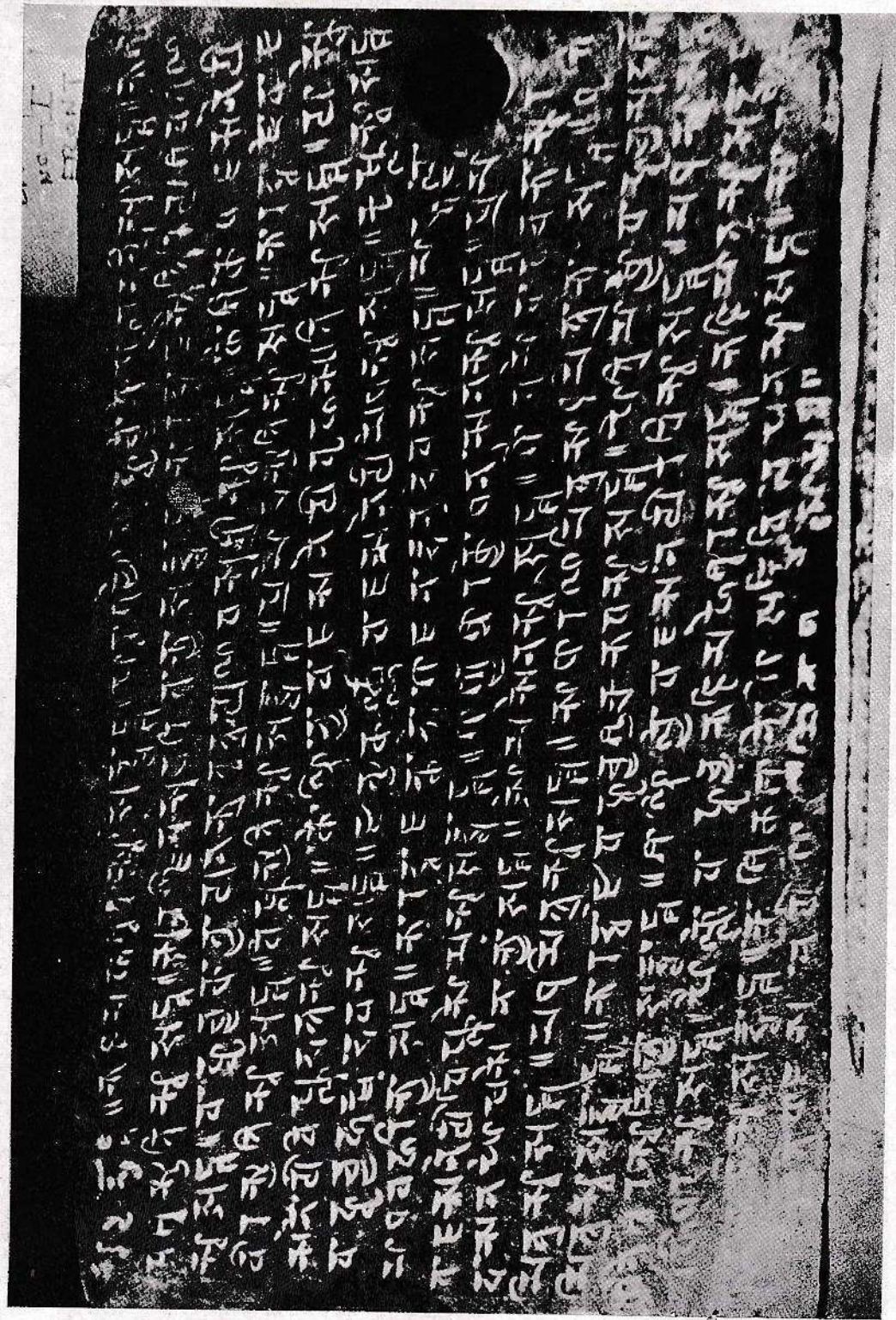


(a) Nidhanpur Plates, II A



(b) Nidhanpur Plates, II B





Nidhanpur Plates, IV B or VB

Nidhanpur Plates, Penultimate A

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript page. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related language. There are some visible ink smudges and a small circular mark near the bottom left of the text area.

Nidhanpur Plates, Penultimate B

[illegible]

PLATE XII



Parbatīyā Plates, bunch

Courtesy : Assam State Museum



Parbatīyā Plates, Seal

Courtesy : Assam State Museum

[illegible]

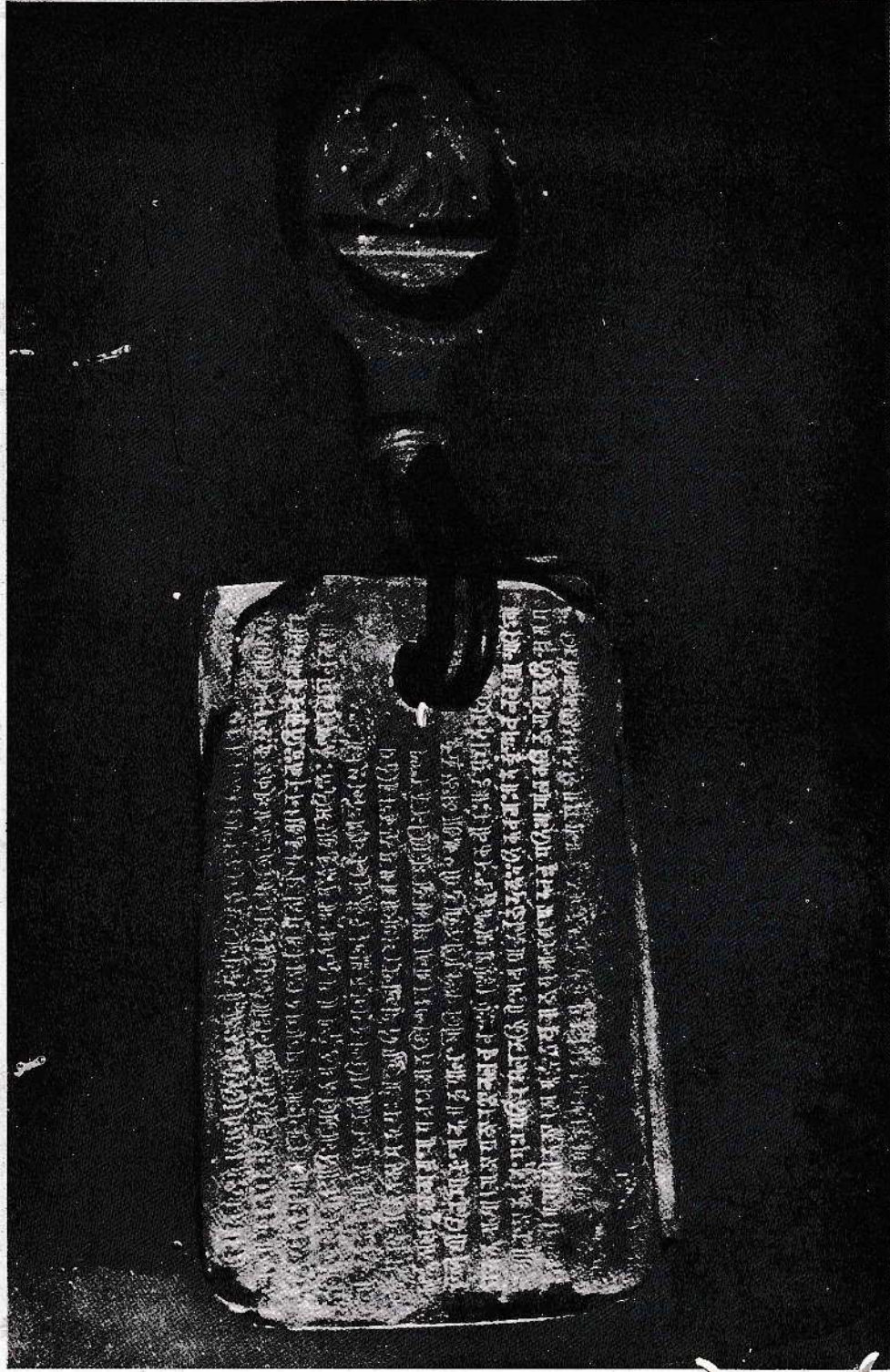
52
①



Uttarbarbil Plates, Seal

Courtesy : D.H.A.S., Assam

[illegible]



Nowgong CP Grant of Balavarman III, Bunch

Courtesy : Assam State Museum

[illegible]



Bargāon CP Grant of Ratnapāla

Courtesy Dr. R. D. Chaudhuri, Principal K. Dutta

[illegible]

[The page contains dense handwritten Devanagari script, which appears to be a continuation from the previous page. The ink is dark and somewhat faded in places. There are approximately 20-25 lines of text visible across the page.]

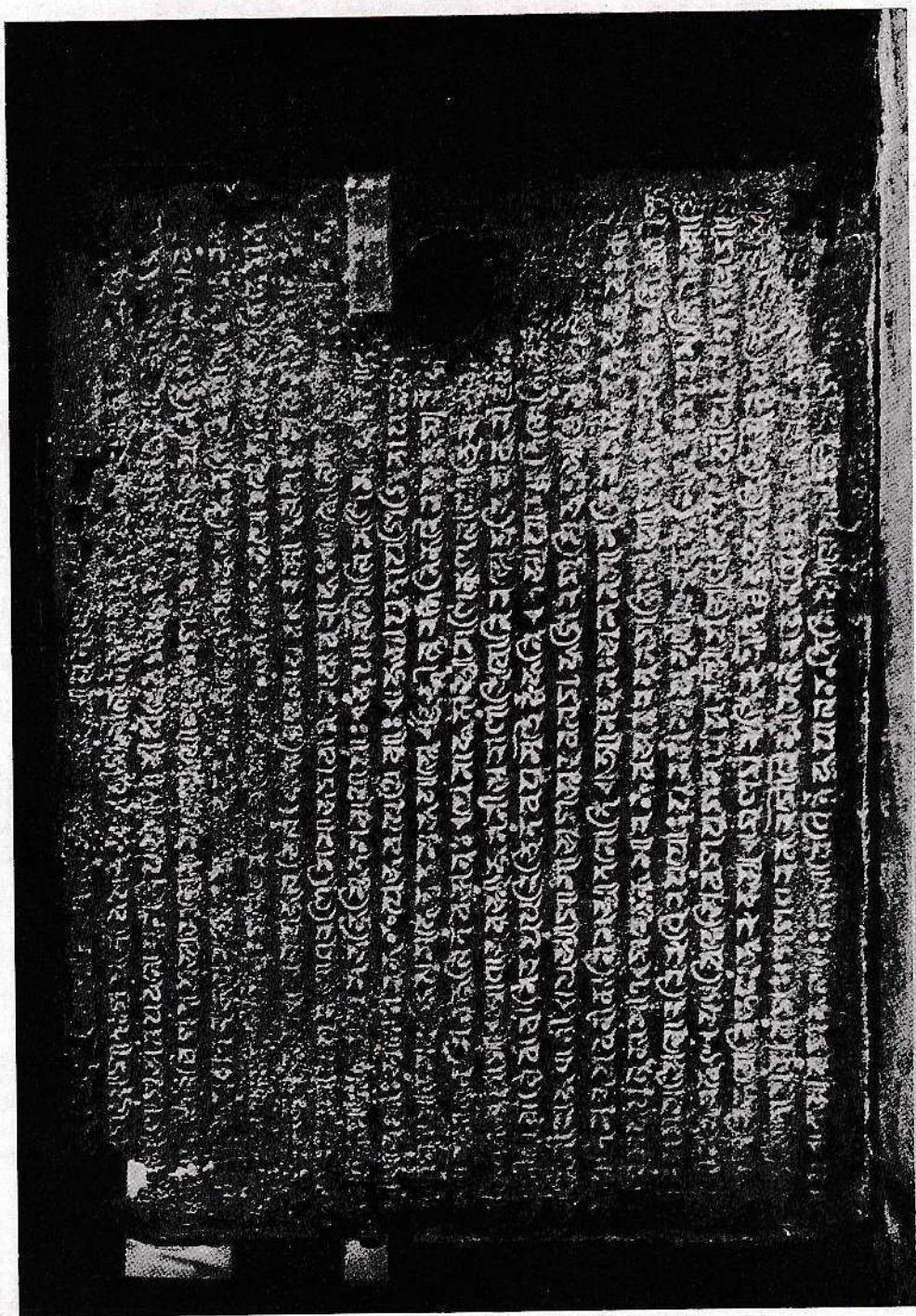
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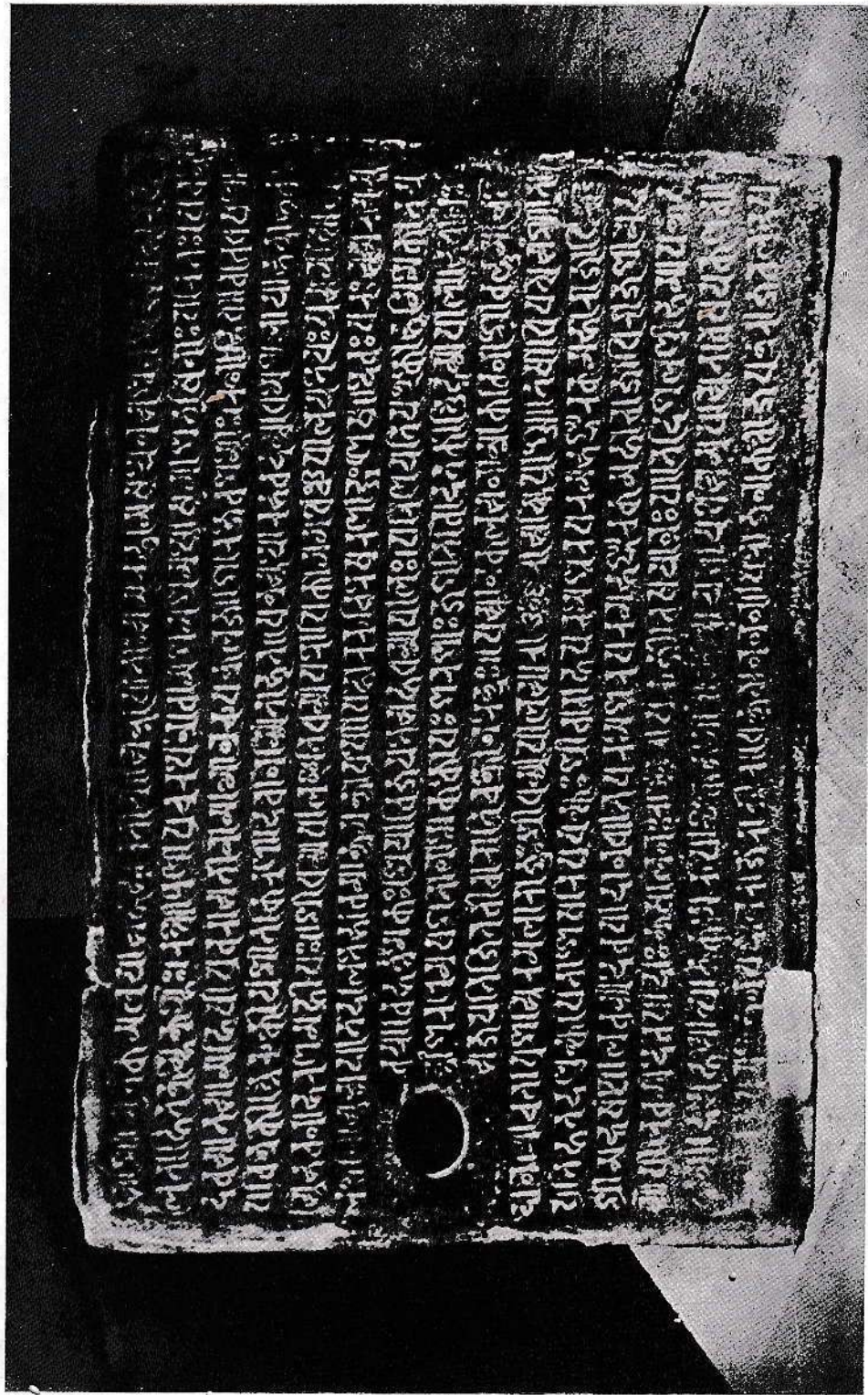


Guvākuchi CP Grant of Indrapāla, Seal

Courtesy : Indian Museum, Calcutta



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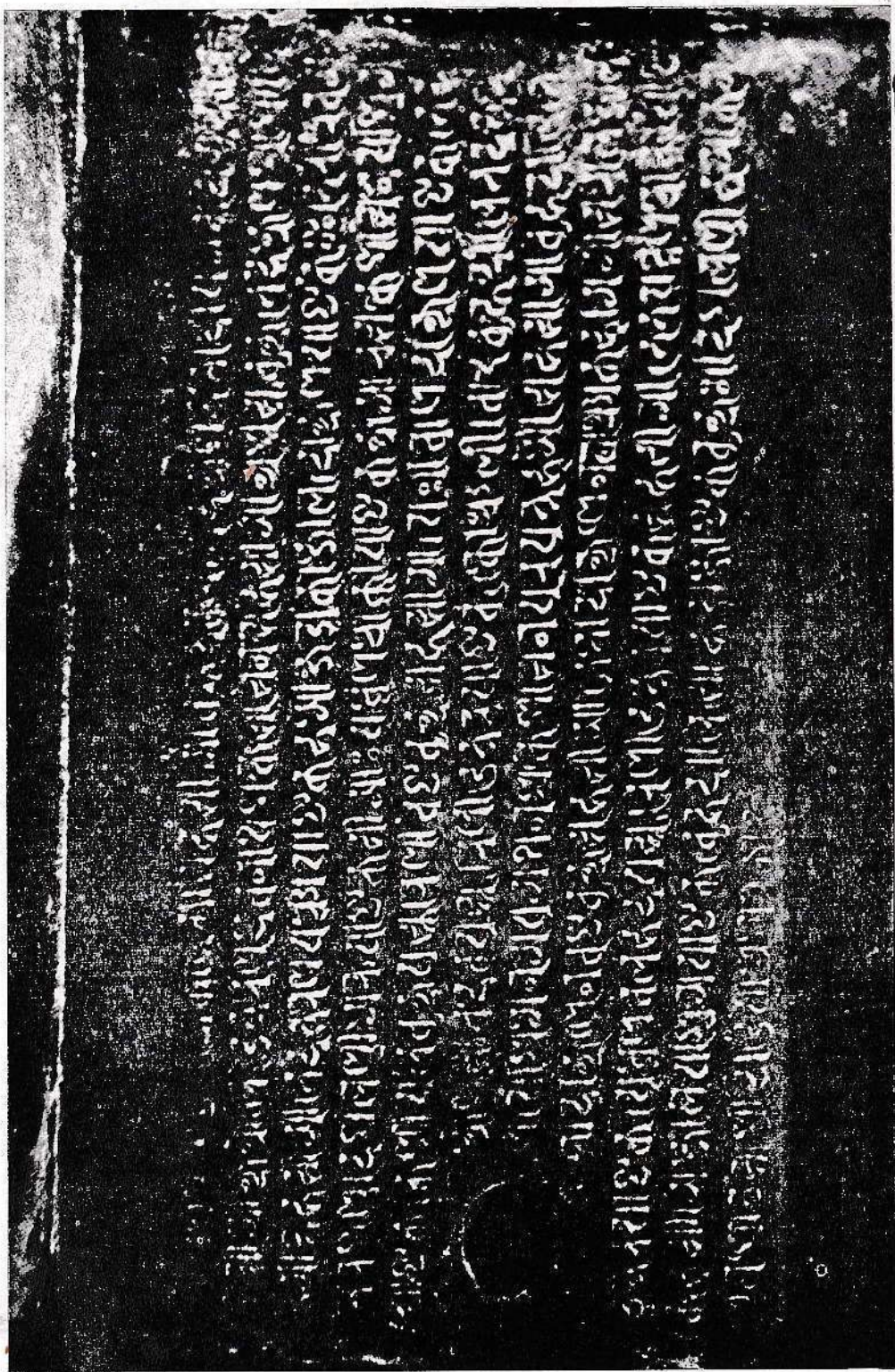


Khanāmukh CP Grant of Dharmapāla, II A

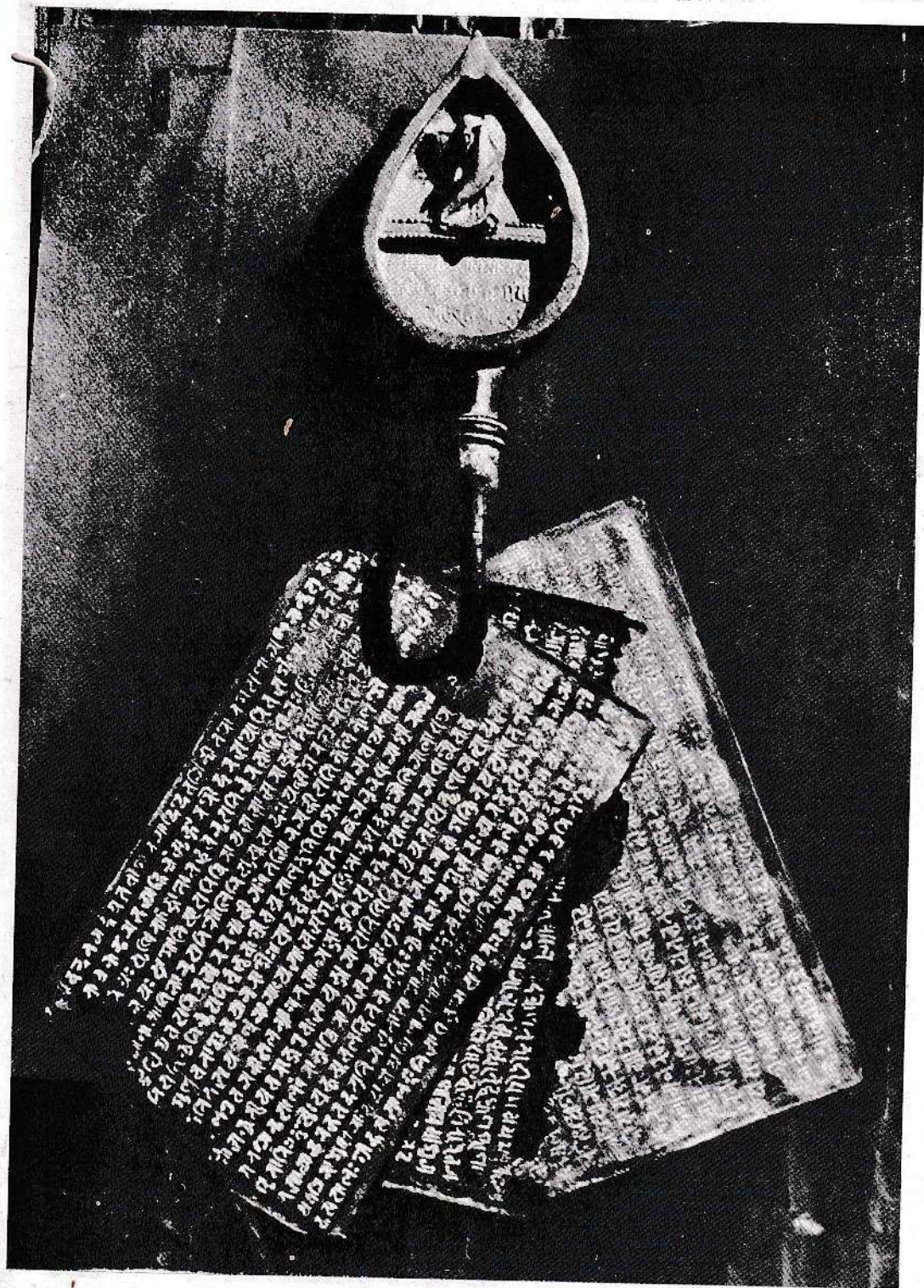


Gachal CP Grant of Gopálavarman, II B

Courtesy : D.H.A.S., Assam



Khanāmukh CP Grant of Dharmapāla, III A



Khanāmukh CP Grant of Dharmapāla, Bunch

Courtesy : Assam State Museum



Khanāmukh CP Grant of Dharmapāla, Seal

Courtesy : Assam State Museum

PLATE I

[The page contains handwritten Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The ink is dark and somewhat faded due to age.]





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Puṣpabhadra Grant of Dharmapāla, Seal

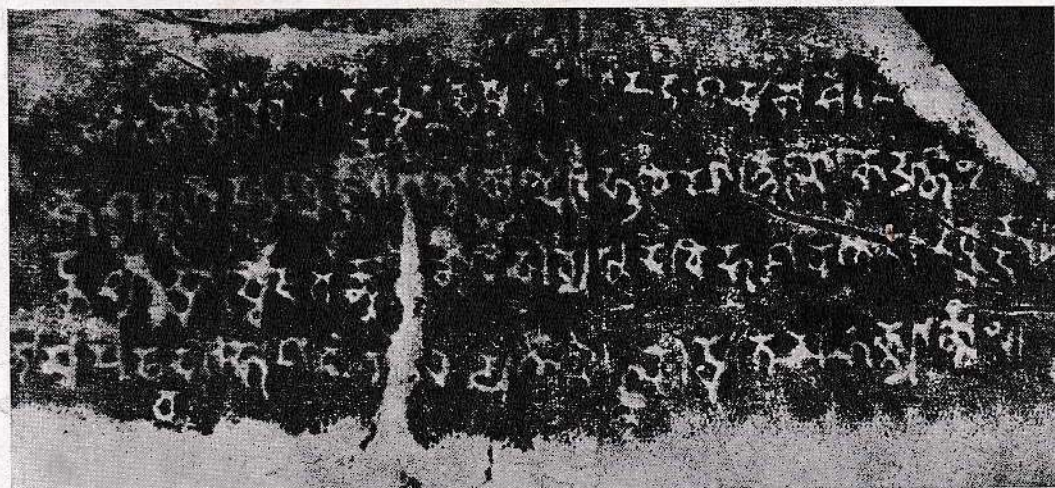
Courtesy : Indian Museum, Calcutta

[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely from a historical record or legal document.]

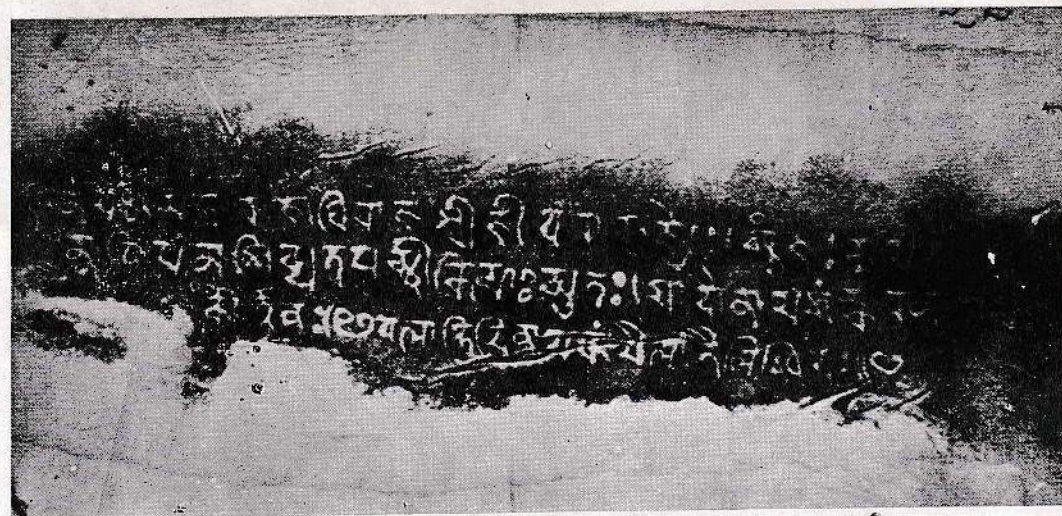
Kamauli CP Grant of Vaidyadeva, IB

[illegible]

Assam Plates of Vallabha, 1 B

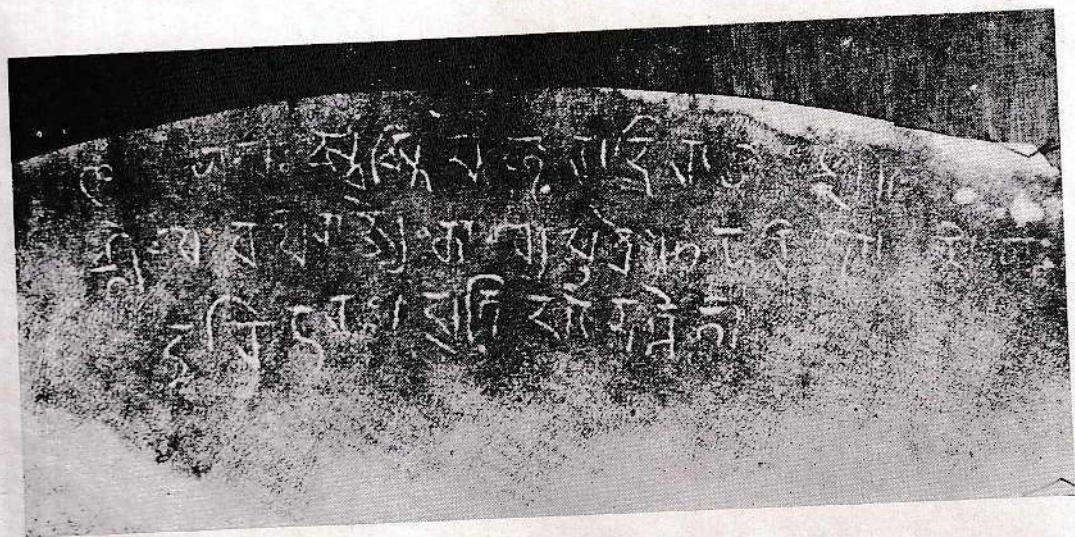


Deopānī Viṣṇu Image Inscription



Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa Stone Image Inscription

Courtesy : Assam State Museum



Harihara Stone Image Inscription

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